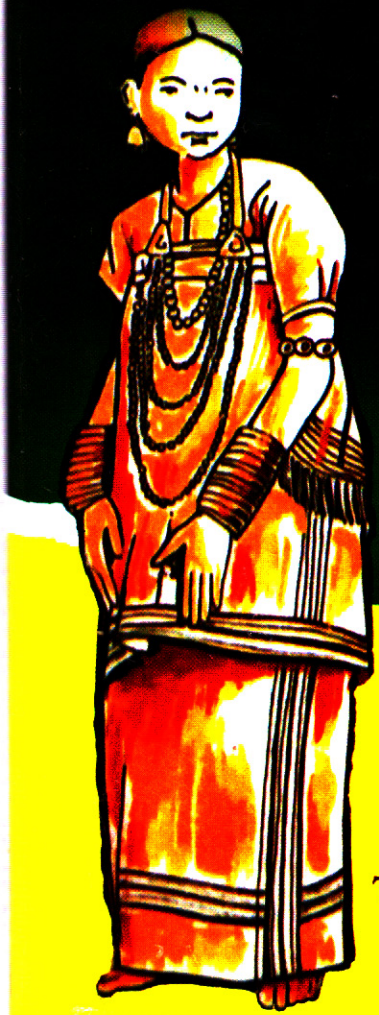
THE CHAKMAS OF TRIPURA



PANNALAL MAJUMDAR

Tribal Research & Cultural Institute
Govt. of Tripura

The Chakmas Of Tripura

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FOREWORD

The Chakmas are one of the major tribes belonging to Mongolian Race migrated from Chittagong Hill Tracts to Tripura during the first part of eighteenth century. Besides Tripura, Chakmas are residing in Mizoram, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, West Bengal etc.

The present book "The Chakmas of Tripura" mainly the dealt with Chakmas history & origin, their social organisation, cultural life, language & literature with special emphasis on socio-economic and socio-political status.

The author Sri Pannalal Majumdar is a well known research worker and have keen interest about the tribal life & culture. Sri Mazumdar in this book presented analysis on the Chakma tribe from the anthropological point of view. I hope this book would be very much helpful to the scholars and researchers and readers of different walks of life.

We are thankful to Sri Pannalal Majumdar for his excellent work.

Dated, Agartala the
20th December, 1997

M. L. Reang
Director
Tribal Research Institute
Govt. of Tripura

PREFACE

The Chakmas of Tripura are one of the Tribes of Indo-Bangladesh Sub-continent. Anthropologically they belong to a branch of Tibeto-Burmese tribe and these Tibeto- Burmese Tribe originally belonged to the Mongolian race. The Chakmas of Tripura mainly believe in the stream of Hinajani Buddhism.

The original abode of the Chakmas of Tripura was in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong in Bangladesh. They have also been dwelling in India comprising the states of Tripura, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and West Bengal. About four lakhs of Chakmas live in Bangladesh. In India about one lakh seventy five thousand of Chakmas live here. Besides in the Arakan regions of Mayenmer (Burma) more than one lakh of Tribesmen originally from Chakmas have been dwelling there. This tribe is known in that region as Dainnak.

In Tripura there are nineteen constitutionally defined scheduled Tribes. The Chakmas are one such rich cultured Tribe among the nineteen Scheduled Tribes of Tripura. They are perhaps the least known people of Asia being the dwellers of a remote and economically backward area.

After the end of British Paramountcy in India in 1947 the Chakma problem has its genesis in the partition of the Indian Sub-continent. The people of

Chittagong Hill Tracts had a strong desire to be a part of secular India. On the 15th of October, 1949, Tripura joined as an integral part of India. The Chakmas of Tripura have been dedicating their lives to be true and patriotic citizens of India. The Autonomous District Council of Tripura has been trying utmost for fulfilling the aspirations and upliftments of the Chakmas of Tripura alongwith the other remaining Scheduled Tribes of Tripura.

The Directorate of Tribal Research Institute, Tripura, has taken a good venture to know more whereabouts of the Chakmas of Tripura and I was entrusted to this task in 1993. I humbly took over this project to know more about this rich cultured tribe and to make highlights about this Tribe to the people of the World. But due to some unavoidable circumstances I could not prepare the book in time.

In preparing the book I have taken numerous suggestions from many of my friends. I am in capable of convey my thanks to all of them individually. But I am to mention my gratefulness and sincere thanks to Sri Niranjan Chakma who was my " philosopher, friend and guide" for preparing this book. Without his help this book could not be materialised in this shape. I convey my thanks to Sri Chiranjib Chakma who helped me for going through the manuscripts. I express my gratitude to Sri Anil Chakma, M.L.A., Tripura Legislative Assembly, who encouraged me and helped me in many ways. Sri Ananta Mohan

Chakma and Sri Mohini Mohan Chakma also helped me by supplying many information. Lastly but not the least Smt. Usha Rani Chakma, wife of Sri Niranjan Chakma, encouraged me by supplying many Chakma termological words along with numerous information. My youngest son Chirabrata Majumdar helped me much in drawing most of the illustrations.

It will be a pleasure to me if this book helps my breathern Chakmas in any way for solving their problems and to the cause of their developments.

PANNALAL MAJUMDAR

INDEX

	Page
Chapter – I	1– 8
Introduction	
The map of Tripura	
Chapter – II	9 – 35
The Chakmas of Tripura	
Numerical strength of population	
Physical traits	
Different sections of the Chakmas	
Chapter – III	35 – 47
The origin and historical background	
Chapter – IV	47 – 109
Jhum cultivation	
Pattern of Chakma villages	
Food and drink	
Hunting	
Fishing	
Domestication of animals & birds	
Weaving crafts	
Wood curving	
Lime, Boat, Salt and Gun-powder manufacturing	
Jewellery	
Chapter – V	110 – 148
Social life	
Marriage	
Dead ritual	
Judiciary system and rights	

		Page
of succession		
Kinship term		
Chapter – VI	149 –	208
Religious and cultural life		
Pujas and festivals		
Religious mantras		
Social prohibitions and taboos		
Folk dances		
Folk songs		
Rural games and sports		
Folk medicine		
Chapter – VII	209 –	289
Language and literature		
Language		
Script		
Folklore		
Proverbs		
Folk tales		
Riddles		
Folk musical instruments		
Chapter – VIII	290 –	313
Political aspiration, polity and social transition and impact of modernisation		
Chapter – IX	314 –	353
Appendix I		
Chakma Customary Laws of Chakma Autonomous District Council, Mizoram		
Appendix - II		
Glossary		
Appendix - III		
Bibliography		

THE CHAKMAS OF TRIPURA

CHAPTER :I

Introduction :-

Tripura is a small state in the north eastern region of India with an area of 10,491 square kilo metre of land with its capital at Agartala. This state is located between 22°56' and 24°32' north and 91°10' and 92°21' east. During the British imperialism in India she was known as "Hill Tipperah", a native state ruled by the Manikya dynasty. This native state merged with India on the 15th October, 1949.

In Tripura there are nineteen constitutionally defined Scheduled Tribes. They have their own fine cultural and proud heritage. The Chakmas are one such rich cultured tribe among the nineteen scheduled tribes of Tripura. The rich heritage of the Chakmas has been contributing to the advancement of our civilisation and culture. We know the fact that the advancement of human civilisation began along the river courses from ancient period and the mode of struggle for existence is the main pivot that looled the Chakmas to a charming land of long beautiful ridges of green hills and luxuriant forests to settle their abode in Tripura. This small state of Tripura occupies a vast portion of her land with hills and mountains having deep dense forest. It embraces extensive valleys washed by fountains, streams and

rivers. This state is rich in a variety of valuable forest products. The Chakmas were mainly dependent on JHUM CULTIVATION for their livelihood. The other tribes of Tripura also mainly dependent of JHUM cultivation. So , there were a common feature of livelihood among the tribes of Tripura of which the Chakmas had their own features. They offer a chaquered history. They fostered and nourished their heritage in course of their changing of habitation and they had been permanently settled in Tripura. They occupied a large portions of land mainly in the eastern part of Tripura and began to live happily.

THE LAND AND PEOPLE : Tripura is situated in the north - eastern part of India surrounded by picturesque hills and valleys with dense forests and vast plain fields. We find reference of Tripura in the Mahabharata and the Purans. Tripura has been referred to as a "Frontier Kingdom" in the inscriptions of the Ashoka Pillars and she claims to be the most ancient of all the former princely states of India. Accordingly to the British Official records she was usually described as 'Hill Tipperah' and sometimes as 'Independent Tippearah'.

During the rule of Delhi Sultaniate and the Mughal paramountcy Tripura faced various invasions from the neighbouring Bengal, but the kings of Tripura abled to retain their independence. In the British period of rule Tripura also maintained its separate entity as a princely state.

After India's independence Tripura emerged with her on the 15th of October, 1949 and became a part 'C' state of India. On the 21st January, 1972, Tripura attained full statehood.

BOUNDARY : Tripura is situated to the north eastern part of the country hemmed in between Bangladesh and Assam. It is bounded on the north by the Cachar district of Assam, on the south by the districts of Chittagong and a part of Noakhali, on the west by Cumilla and part of Noakhali district and on the east by the State of Mizoram. Tripura covers about 182.4 kilometres in length from its north to the south and 112 kilometres in breadth from its east to the west.

TOPOGRAPHY : Topographically Tripura can be divided into seven distinguishable features. These are (1) Hill range, (2) River, (3) Lake, (4) Hillock, (5) Valley, (6) Lunga, (7) Flat land.

HILL RANGE : Seven hill ranges are important among the hill ranges of Tripura. They are Jampui, Sakhanthang, Devtamura, Atharamura, Sardeng and Baramura. They rise higher from west to east and each range enhances in height from south to north. The average distance between every two ranges is 15 kilometres. The altitude of the ranges vary from 50 ft. to 3000 ft. above the sea level.

RIVER : There are many rivers in Tripura. They

drain away its vast area and fertile it by soft alluvial deposits. Practically the rivers of Tripura are fed by monsoon water. During the dry months they turn into narrow and they are hardly navigable except for the mouth of the river. The rivers of Tripura are (1) Gomati, (2) Howrah, (3) Fenny, (4) Khowai, (5) Dhalai, (6) Juri, (7) Langai, (8) Muhuri, (9) Manu and (10) Deo.

LAKE : Tripura is proud of having the lakes of Rudrasagar and Dumbur Lake. Rudrasagar is situated at a distance of 53 kilometres in the south-east from Agartala. Dumbur Lake lies mostly in Gandachhera Sub-Division and a part of it is situated in Amarpur Sub-Division. The distance of Dumbur Lake from Agartala is about 100 K.M. in the south-east direction. Except these there is no other principal lake worth mentioning. At Udaipur there are two small jheels of water named the Harijala and Dakruajala.

HILLOCK : Tripura is a hilly state. The natural elevation of an area is called by the local people as tilla. These tillas are full of timber forests, bamboos and bushes. Some tillas are used as sites for homesteads by the local people. The tillas of Tripura may be called as hillocks which are full of natural resources. These hillocks were often used as JHUM cultivation by the tribals of Tripura.

VALLEY : The valleys are formed by the low lands

in between hills and drained by rivers. They are very fertile and are used by the tribals to produce paddy, jute, vegetables, cotton etc. Sometimes they are used as pastoral land.

LUNGA : The low lands in between the tillas or hillocks are called lunga. Naturally they become fertile and yield good crops. This land is suitable for plough cultivation.

FLAT LAND : Though Tripura is a hilly state yet she possesses a vast flat land between intermittent hills. This plain surface is most suitable land for cultivation.

SOIL : The soil of Tripura is of different kinds. The soil of hillocks or tilla lands is not fertile. Usually it is formed with loamy sand. But the soil of the lunga land is mostly alluvial and becomes very fertile. The marshy lands have bog-soils.

FLORA : Tripura has its natural forest resource. The forests are of mixed character and most of them vary considerably. She has a great variety of bamboos through out the hills only interrupted by other plants like sungrass and scattered trees and herbs. Sal, Segun, Sundi, Jarul, Sonal, Garjan, Karai, Gamai, Chamal, Negeswar etc. grow in the forests. Various types of canes are abundant in Tripura forests. Various types of medicinal plants are found in the forests. There are some tea gardens also in the

forests. Rubber plantation is also introduced and the quality of Tripura rubber obtains a great reputation throughout India. The tea gardens of Tripura also yields qualitative products.

FAUNA : Tripura is renowned for its animal wealth since time immemorial. Elephants, deer, tiger, leopard, bison, bear, buffalo, pig, monkeys, mongoose, bats, squirrels, bisons etc. are commonly found in the forests of Tripura.

In the forests of Tripura there are various kinds of birds. They are the crow, the pigeon, the parrot, the dove, the bulbul, the Indian hill mynah, the bhringaraj, the jungle owl, the crane, the vulture, the kite, the parakeet, the hornbill etc.

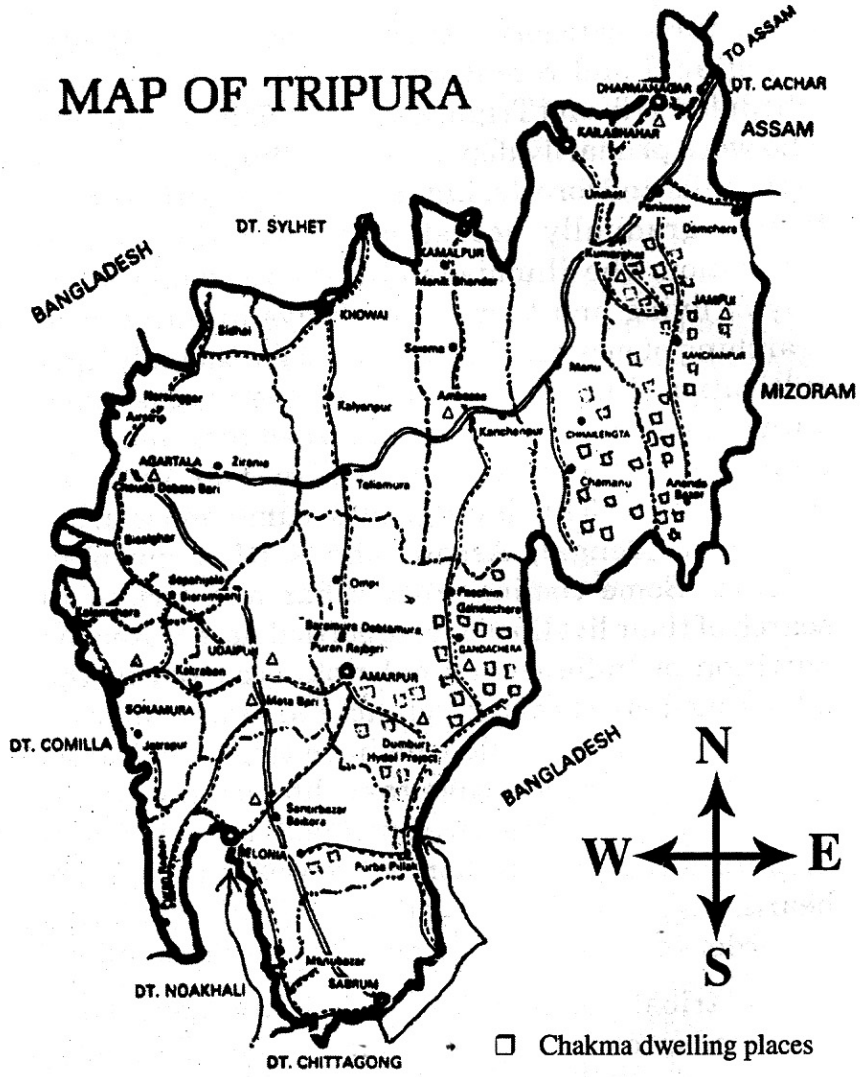
Various kinds of fishes, crabs, tortoises are found in the lakes and rivers of Tripura.

CLIMATE : Tripura is a land of tropical climate. From March to May thunder-storms and rains begin. The monsoon begins in the month of May. It brings storms and heavy rains. The average rainfall of Tripura is about 230 cm. annually. The month of September becomes salty due to the presence of high percentage of moisture in the weather. The temperature comes down in the month of October. A dry and cold wind begins to blow from the north and the cool dry season begins from November. It continues till February.

POPULATION : The population of Tripura may broadly be classified into tribal and non-tribals. They

are of three categories such as original residents, immigrants and recent immigrants. The nineteen scheduled Tribes of Tripura are the original residents who were primarily dependent on Jhum cultivation in the hills and forests. Later on a large section of the tribals gradually accustomed with the plough cultivation. The Jhumia families were on migratory way of living and they were always in quest of in searching of new fertile forest land for their shifting cultivation. But the tribals those were accustomed with the plough cultivation discarded their nomadic character and settled down in the villages permanently. The immigrants came most from undivided Bengal, Assam and settled down in Tripura. Some coming from Bihar and Orissa in search of their livelihood have settled here. After the partition of India communal riots occurred in the adjoining districts of the defunct East Pakistan now Bangladesh. The people who have taken shelter as refugee in Tripura to save their life are the recent migrants. The refugees continued to enter into Tripura through unauthorised routes leaving their hearth and home due to raping and killing became the order of the day in the defunct East Pakistan.

The tribal communities of Tripura have been classified into nineteen scheduled Tribes. They are - - (1) Tripuri, (2) Reang, (3) Jamatia, (4) Chakma, (5) Halam, (6) Noatia, (7) Lushai, (8) Mag, (9) Garo, (10) Kuki, (11) Khasia, (12) Bhutia, (13) Chaimal, (14) Munda, (15) Lepcha, (16) Orang, (17) Uchai, (19) Santal.


MAP OF TRIPURA
TO ASSAM
DT. CACHAR
ASSAM
DHARMANAGAR
KAILASHAHAR
Unakoti
Panisagar
Damchara
Kumarghat
JAMPUI
KANCHANPUR
MIZORAM
Manu
CHHAILENGTA
Chamanu
Ananda Bazar
DT. SYLHET
BANGLADESH
KAMALPUR
Manik Bhandar
KHOWAI
Sidhai
Sonima
Kalyanpur
Ambassa
Kanchanpur
Narsingarh
Aiyar
AGARTALA
Zirania
Chauda Dabata Bari
Taliamura
Bisalghar
Sepahijala
Bisramganj
Kalamchara
Omji
Paschim
Gandachara
Baramura Dabtamura
Puran Rajbari
GANDACHERA
UDAIPUR
Kakraban
AMARPUR
Mota Bari
SONAMURA
Jatrapur
DT. COMILLA
Dumburi
Hydel Project
BANGLADESH
Santirbazar
Baikora
BELONIA
Purba Pillak
Manubazar
SABRUM
DT. NOAKHALI
DT. CHITTAGONG
N
W
E
S
Chakma dwelling places
Migration route

Chapter - II

THE CHAKMA TRIBES OF TRIPURA

The Chakmas of Tripura are one of the tribes of Indo-Bangladesh Sub-continent. Anthropologically they belong to a branch of Tibeto - Burmese tribe and this Tibeto-Burmese Tribe originally belonged to the Mongolian race. The Chakmas of Tripura mainly believe in the stream of HINAYANI Buddhism. But among them various rituals of animism are in vogue also. The eminent historian Dr. Heinz Bechert referred the above facts in his book, " Contemporary Buddhism in Bengal and Tripura", (Educational Miscellany, Vol-IV, 1967 & 68)". Contemporary and legendary sources also admit the facts.

The original abode of the Chakmas of Tripura was in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong in Bangladesh. They also been dwelling in India comprising the states of Tripura, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and West Bengal. About four lakhs of Chakmas live in Bangladesh. In India about one lakh seventy five thousands of Chakmas live here. Besides there in the Arakan regions of Burma more than one lakh of tribes men originated from Chakmas have been settling there. This tribe is known in that region as DAINNAK. It may be said that the Chakmas living in Bangladesh and India are not maintaining any relation now-a-days with the DAINNAKS. Prof. S. K. Chatterjee in his book, "Origin and Development of Bengali Language, " Calcutta, Reprint, at page 140, referred the above fact of the Chakmas named

DAINNAK.

The eminent writer Sugata Chakma in his book. "CHAKMA PARICHITI", (Rangamati, 1983, Page No. I) clearly showed that the Chakma language is reasonably taken as one of the Aryan groups of languages. This language contains relativity with the New Indo-Aryan language which derived from the branch of "PURBI-MAGADHI" of Indo-Aryan languages. Niranjan Chakma, another scholar and reputed writer, gave reasons in his book, "CHAKMA BHASA O SANSKRITI PRASANGA", Agartala, 1989, page-31, that the Chakma language has close relations with the languages of the tribes of Tibeto-Burmese living in the North Eastern regions of India.

Migration of the Chakma into Tripura :

The Chakmas of Tripura mainly penetrated from Arakan in the long distant past through the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It is also very difficult to ascertain when and how they have extended their habitation into Tripura. However it is acceptable that the Chakmas penetrated into the soil of Tripura in the historical past due to natural course of their movement or for other reasons.

The coming down of Chakmas from Arakan along the river courses was a continuous process as they moved from one river branch to another. Ultimately

they came and settled down in Tripura in the early Muslim period of Bengal. The kings of Tripura and Arkan were waging wars for maintaining supremacy over Chittagong. Sattua was the Chakma king of Southern Chittagong on the Arakan border. From the source of Chakma History we know that this King Satrua became in same and subjected the people to numerous in-human behaviour and atrocities. His people rose against the in-human treatments under such a tyrannous regime. This king was called Pagala Raja. He was ultimately killed by his subjects. The window of the Pagala Raja fled away to Tripura with her two daughters and some of her faithful courtiers. Later on one of her daughters was married into a noble Tripura family. From this time onward the Chakmas in batches immigrated into Tripura. They were in search of JHUM CULTIVATION and tillable land. During the reign of the Chakma queen Kalindi there was a major exodus of the Chakmas into Tripura for permanent settlement there. Reports are available that above 4,000 Chakmas crossed over into Tripura in 1884.

To facilitate our discussion regarding the origin of the Chakmas, their homeland as well as their national where-about, we are citing some opinion of some authors.

R.H. Sneyd Hutchin son's "Chittagong Hill Tracts", (Delhi, reprint, 1978, Page-21), says "The tribe is

known as THEK by the Burmese and Tui-thek by the kukis ..... the Chakmas are undoubtedly of Arakanese origin. They immigrated into Chittagong District where they intermarried largely with the Bangalees whose language they speak."

S.P. Talukdar in his book, "The Chakmas, life and struggle", (New Delhi, 1987, page-6) says - " The word CHAWNGMA or SAWNGMA or CHAKMA or CHUKMA means the people of Tsak or thek clan who are the progenitors of Burmese race." Dr. Dulal Choudhury in his book, "CHAKMA PRABAD (Bengali), (Calcutta, 1980, page - 5) says - "Ethnically the Chakmas belong to the South East Asian races and through the ages of history, they had been moving to the west from Cambodia -- Thailand area towards Burma and ultimately to Chittagong Hill tracts. In the early 18th century, under queen Kalindi, the Chakmas settled over the areas extending from Chittagong Hill Tracts to Arakans."

But we know from Chakma legends that during the reign of Maharaja Krishna Maniky-a of Tripura (1760-1783 AD.) one Kirtichandra Dewan of Chittagong Hill Tracts settled down at the Gomati valley of Tripura with some of his followers. At that time in the eastern mountainian borders of Tripura were disturbed by the tribes KUKIS and they sometimes would cross the Gomati valley and would atrocite in the plains by looting and killing the people of Tripura. Once Maharaja Krishna Manikya, it is

said, sought the help of this Kirtichandra Dewan to suppress the disturbing elements KUKIS for protecting his subjects. Kirtichandra Dewan marched against the KUKIS with Chakma and Tripuri soldiers and showed his skill and valor in the battle and subdued the KUKIS. The Maharaja was very pleased with him and honoured him by conferring the title NARAYAN or NARAN. From that time Kirtichandra Dewan become known as NARAYAN Dewan in the Chakma society. But it is to be mentioned here that there is no corroboration of this fact in the history of Tripura. But there is a clear record about this in the Chakma history written by Madhab Chandra Chakma in his book, " Sri Sri Rajnama" (published from Chittagong in 1940 -- P. 71).

Though historical references are got about Chakmas that they penetrated into Tripura during the 18th and the 19th Centuries but there are several reliable sources that the Chakmas had good relations with the Tripuries many centuries prior to the period under reference. The relation and contact between the Tripuries and the Chakmas was affirmed by Sneha Kumar Chakma in his essay, " TRIPURAY CHAKMA JATI" which was published on 19th June of 1976 in the news paper of Tripura named JAGARAN.

To quote from the book, " SWADHIN TRIPURA CENSUS REPORT ", (First Edition, 1906) written by Asit Chandra Choudhury, "At least for sixty years they (Chakmas) have been setting up a colony in the

surroundings of Belonia, from thence gradually they spread." On the basis of the account of Asit Chandra Choudhury the Chakmas entered into Tripura in the year 1840 A.D. This book of Asit Chandra Choudhury is reprinted by the Tribal Research Institute, Govt. of Tripura, in 1995.

Particulars are available in respect of 13 Tribal communities in the "Demographic and Socio-economic profiles of the hill areas of North East India" by B.K Roy Barman (Edited), New Delhi, 1970 A.D. The same are as follows (as per Census Report) in respect of Chakma Population in Tripura from 1901 to 1961.

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BUDDHIST	CHRISTIAN	HINDU	PERCENT
1901	4510	4510	—	—	100.00
1911	4310	4310	—	—	100.00
1921	5738	—	—	5738	100.00
1931	8756	8729	—	27	100.00
		(99.69)		(0.31)	(99.69+0.31)
1941	19449	—	—	19449	100.00
1961	22386	22259	05	122	100.00
		(99.43)	(0.02)	(0.55)	(99.43+0.02+ 0.55)

The Census figures of 1971 as available from the Census of India are given as follows in respect of the Chakmas of Tripura.

1971 - TOTAL CHAKMAS - 28,665

The figures may be shown in the three districts of Tripura :

West District -	064
North District -	18,374
South District -	10,227
TOTAL	28,665

The male and female Chakmas of Tripura can be shown as follows (1971 Census) :-

	Male	Female	Total
	15,030	13,632	28,662
RURAL AREAS	14,969	13,598	28,567
URBAN AREAS	061	034	095

LITERATE FIGURES

	Male	Female	Total
	11,866	13,148	25,014
RURAL	11,856	13,134	24,990

URBAN	010	014	024

Literate and Educated Chakma persons in 1971

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
	3648	3164	0484
RURAL	3577	3113	0464
URBAN	071	051	020

Sub-Division wise Chakma Demographic Figures of 1971 :-

	WEST		NORTH		SOUTH	
RURAL	M	F	M	F	M	F
	4	0	9743	8601	5222	4997
TOTAL -	04		18,344		10,219	
URBAN	34	26	26	04	Nil	
TOTAL -	60			30		

1971 -RELIGION WISE

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	BUDDHIST	CHRISTIAN	HINDU	MUSLIM
RURAL AREAS	28,567	14,969	13,598	14,450(M) 12103(F)	05(M) 183(F)	514(M) 1312 (F)	NIL NIL
URBAN	095	61	34	30(M) 18(F)	11(M) 03(F)	20(M) 13(F)	NIL NIL

: The figures of 1981 (Census of India) as given religion wise :-

TOTAL	BUDDHIST	CHRISTIAN	HINDU	MUSLIM
34,797	33,970	017	0806	002

-: THE FIGURES ARE TAKEN FROM CENSUS OF INDIA 1981 :-

-: TRIBAL POPULATION IN TRIPURA BY TRIBES AND DISTRICTS :-

NAME OF THE TRIBE - CHAKMA .

CENSUS YEAR - 1981

Total Chakma in Tripura-34,799	Percentage of Total Population-1.69	Male 17966 Female-16,833

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AS DISTRICTS WISE

Name of the District.	Male.	Female.	Total Population
West Tripura	41	40	81
North Tripura	10855	10042	20897
South Tripura	7070	6751	13821
Grand Total	17966	16833	34799

The Census Report of 1991 has not yet been published. But we can guess the figure on the basis of natural increase by birth is to be 43,000 (approximate). Besides 53,155 Chakma refugees are living in different camps of South Tripura.

TOTAL TRIBAL LITERACY IN TRIPURA - 1991(APPROX)

Name	Total	Male	Female
Tripura	853345	434225	419120
RURAL	839264	426741	412523
URBAN	14081	7484	6597

From the above figures of Tribal literates of Tripura we can easily guess that the young Chakmas have captured and obtained a considerable numbers which are shown as literate Tribal figures of Tripura - 1991.

In accordance with the Census Report of SWADHIN-TRIPURA, Edited by Asit Chandra Choudhury, First Edition, 1906, the Chakmas entered into Tripura in 1840 A.D. and have been settling in Tripura and took Tripura as their permanent abode. To quote Asit Choudhury, "At least sixty years before (1901) the Chakmas entered in the region of Belonia to settle down and from there they gradually spread over to other parts of Tripura".

In this context of numerical strength of Chakma people in Tripura it is necessary to mention here that after achieving India's independence in 1947 Chakmas in large numbers did not enter in Tripura from former East Pakistan now Bangladesh. At least

there remains no record of the government that admits of entering of Chakma people in bulk numbers in Tripura immediately after obtaining India's freedom. Even on the eve of independence war of Bangladesh in 1971 when lakhs of non-tribals oxoduses took shelter in Tripura to save their life from former East Pakistan still that time also no Chakma Refugee did come from Chittagong Hill tracts. But previous to this happening, in 1964 about 20-25 thousands of Chakmas entered in Tripura as oxodus. But they were kept in the camps of Manughat in the North District of Tripura under the supervision and management of the Govt. But the Chakma refugees were kept there for 10-11 days and they were transferred to the refugee camps of the district of Kachar in Assam. Subsequently they were taken from thence and were rehabilitated in NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency) now Arunachal. The above facts reveal that after independence of India Chakma infiltrations in large numbers did not happen in Tripura and this seems true in the light of the Census Reports of India at present times also. Even in accordance with the Census Reports of India of 1901 the growth rate of Chakma people in Tripura would seem natural and logical.

PHYSICAL TRAITS OF THE CHAKMAS

The physical traits of the Chakmas are well built. They are of short to medium stature. They are hard working people. Their muscles are well developed. The Chakmas are typically Mongolian. Their eyes

are oblique and the nose is flat. They possess Mongolian features with yellowish complexion. The Chakma male bears little or no hair on the face and chest. They give a cheerful look. The Chakma Women possess handsome looking and their body structure is excellent. Generally the male is rarely seen with beard and moustache. They are honest and sincere but akin to their old habit. They usually do not express their feelings affirmatively. They have wonderful grasping power of details. They are argumentative and stubborn. They are truthful and disciplined. They possess and good sense of humour and are quick at repartee. By nature they are introvert and religious minded people. Their view of life is to achieve the Truth.

In the Census of India report, Vol. I, in 1901, Sir H.H. Rialey defined the Physical Characteristics of Chakmas as follows :-

Proportion of Head (Cephalic Index)

Average 84.3

Maximum 96

Minimum 77

Range 19

Indices (Head) .....

Medium Head ..... 77 and under 77.5-3

(Mesoc ephalic) ..... 77.5 and under 80+15

Broad Head ..... 80 and under 82.5-16

Brochy Cephalic ..... 82.5 and under 85-21

85 and under 87.5-19

87.5 and under 90-19

90 and above - 8

Proportion of Nose (Nasal Index)

Average	84.5
Maximum	105
Minimum	70
Range	35

Nose

Medium Nose	70 and under 75-2
Meso-rhime	75 and under 80+28
	80 and under 85-2

Broads Noses	85 and under 90 - 31
(Platy rhyme)	90 and under 95-9
	95 and under 100-6
	100 and above - 4
Root Nose	101 and under 104-14
Platy-epic	104 and under 107-45
flat	107 and under 110-37
Mesophic (medium)	110 and under 113-4

Relative prominence of root of nose (orbito - Nasal Index)

Average	106.4
Maximum	112
Minimum	102
Range	10

Stature of the Chakmas :

Average	159.5 Cm.

Maximum	169.6 Cm.
Minimum	149 Cm.

DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE CHAKMAS

The mysterious origin of the generic word 'Chakma' is not known authentically. The Chakma historians and the scholars take it to considerations that the generic term 'Chakma' has derived from the word Sakya. In ancient times, a clan named Sakya lived in the Himalayan regions in the frontier of Nepal.

Gautam Buddha was born in this clan. It is narrated in the history that a part of this clan was compelled to quit their country by another stronger people to them. This driven part of the Sakya clan was found to take shelter in the regions of Burma and Arakan along with the region of eastern India. The Chakmas regard themselves as the descendents of the driven Sakya clan from the Himalayan regions in the North of India. The Burmese called the newly comers as THEK or THET. And the Chakmas made their acquaintance with the name Sak or CHANG. In later period MA with the meaning MANUCH (MAN) is added with CHANG and a new generic word came CHANGMA. The British made a slight difference and wrote the word as 'Chakma'.

However, at present times the Chakmas are classified into three major groups or sections such as

ANOKKYA, TANGCHONGYA and DAINNAK. In pursuance of the Chakma history the Chakmas lived long five hundred years in the middle of Burma and Arakans. But in the first half of the fourteenth century they came over in the west of Arakans i.e.. in the surroundings of Chittagong. The Chakmas who came over in the western part of Arakan they were being called as Anokkya by the Arakanese. Because in the Arakanese language the meaning of the word Anok is "a little west". And the Chakmas who remained in the Arakanese hill regions they were called by the name of TANGCHONGYA. The word 'Tong' means hill in the Arakanese language. Besides these two groups there was another group of the Chakmas named DAINNAK. They served and remained in the Arakanese army. The word DAINNAK means the soldier holding with the shield. The above mentioned Chakmas and Tangchongas have have been living in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, Tripura and Mizoram in now-a-days. And the Dainnaks have been living in Arakan. Originally the Chakmas who were known as Anokkyas at present they have become known as Chakmas.

Besides the aforesaid three groups of the Chakmas there are some more small groups. These are GOZAS and GUTTHIS. Different clans living under the control of the Dewan are called GOZA. Each of the clans which comprises of a GOZA is known as GUTTHI. Among the Chakmas forty GOZAS and one hundred and thirty three GUTTHIS are noticed.

The successors of these five GUTTHIS became large to larger. Gradually they became independent by over throwing the name to express their valour and popularity. We find the name of 133 GUTIHI in the book of Satish Chandra Ghosh's "CHAKMAJATI", published in 1909.

The names are as follows :-

(1) DHURJYA, (2) NINANDYA, (3) KATHYOA (4) RAMDALIYA, (5) MULIKHAJA, (6) VELE, (7) KATTUA, (8) BOA, (9) NANUKATTUOA (10) POAKAMARJYA, (11) KOMARENG, (12) JANDAR, (13) GUIA, (14) TUDA, (15) DHABANA, (16) MITHA, (17) NOANYA, (18) KARBBUA, (19) SINHASARPA, (20) ANUNDYA, (21) KALA, (22) RANGA-CHHILANYA, (23) BADALI, (24) SEBARJYA, (25) SUKYA, (26) MANIA, (27) CHADANG, (28) KARAMYA, (29) SALYA , (30) PANCHA, (31) ICHAPANCHA, (32) KISAN-THAN), (33) BAMANCHEGE,. (34) KANKRA, (35) SHETHYA, (36) PUNJHA, (37) CHAGRA (38) MUKHCHORA, (39) PIRABHANGA (40) KURJYA, (41) BALAKA, (42) BARAI-BECHA, (43) KALACHEM (44) KANG (45) TINBHEDA, (46) BADAKURJYA, (47) CHHOTAKURJYA, (48) BAGA , (49) BHABA, (50) TADEGA, (51) SAMJHA , (52) SATBHEIA (53) SURESHWARI, (54) PEDANCHHARI, (55) NENDEB, (56) TETAIA, (57) AUNAPUNA, (58) KANA, (59) BHADAN, (60) BHUT, (61) KYAKDARA, (62) AMARI, (63) VIDDILI, (64) OANJHA, (65)

GAJAL, (66) LOUHAWJHAOA, (67) NADKATUL, (68) HAGRA, (69) BHENEA, (70) BUNCHEGE, (71) MASTAR, (72) LULAN, (73) BHURUMA, (74) CHEGA, (75) BAHA LA, (76) BANYAB, (77) MOGH (78) GORA, (79) SINIRAOPUNA, (80) CHAIDANI, (81) CHANAI, (82) DOJA, (83) KAPALYA, (84) SEM, (85) SARDAR, (86) KAGUNIKAL, (87) BETKABA, (88) KAYAL (89) KASHMANIK, (90) HATIPUNJHA, (91) UNDURTALA, (92) KALAPILABAP, (93) BHULA, (94) KALABAGHA, (95) PINARBHANA , (96) KAL, (97) SHESYA, (98) RASIRI, (99) BABURA, (100) GAJALYA , (101) MANEIYA, (1O2) LEHAKADDA, (103) BAGHOJHA, (104) KARENGIRI, (105) BHAGATAP, (106) SEBEA, (107) NARAN, (108) DHECHYOA, (109) AMU, (110) SHISKHA, (111) RAKKOABAP, (112) AGUNIKANA, (113) RAN-PAGLA , (114) KAKKINA, (115) PHATTOA, (116) JARI, (117) PARBOA , (118) BARAIA, (119) SARAIA, (120) JALYA, (121) SHELACHHYA, (122) SHELPATYA, (123) CHAONYA, (124) PAIAB, (125) MULIA , (126) TALUKDAR, (127) KHATYAL, (124) CHELIPUNA, (129) MENDAR, (130) CHARKADA , (131) MAISCHARA , (132) KALA and (133) PENJANI.

The distribution of Goza and Gutthi as stated by Sri Satish Chandra Ghose :

Name of GOZA and its origin	Name of the GUTTHI under each GOZA

1. Durjya Goza– The Chief of this Goza would wear the feather of the bird Bhimraj and for this his Goza was called Durjya Goza. — KOMAREN, NANUKTUA, KATTUA etc.
2. POMA GOZA — JANDAR, GUIA, TUDA etc.
3. Poa Goza-Once the elders of this Goza went out for harvesting Jhum. Their Youngsters were at their homes. By this time the KUKIS attacked their homes but the brave children drove the KUKIS with the help of Kamtha-Guli and saved them. Their valours were unparalled and their successors were marked with POA GOZA. Some say that the king Dharam-box — KAKKINA, PHATROA, KAYAL

Khan's Talukdar was tender in age. So the king called him the Poa Goza.	
4. CHEK-KABA GOZA	-
5. LACHHAR GOZA	VIDDILE, OANJHA, GAJAL, PIRA BHANGA etc.
6. Tainya Goza lived on the bank of the river Tainchari.	Kurjya, Dhurjya Mulia, Paiyaba etc.
7. Oanjha Goza This Goza lived by the side of Oanjha Marsh or cavity.	KANKRA, SHETHYA PUNJHA etc.
8. Fedunja GOZA	MULIA, KAPALYA, KASHMANIK, UNDURTALA, KALAPIA BAP etc.
9. Bar-chege Goza	KHATYAL, LOHAKADDA CHELIPONA,

	UNDURTALA, PUNJHA etc.
10.Kambhei	Mendas, Kala Penjani etc.
11.Bunchha	Kakra, Mais-chara Charkada etc.
12.Mulima lived on the bank of Muri river or he was a pious man.	Dhabana, Mitha, Noanya, Karbua, Sinhasapa, Anundya Kala Rangachhilanya Badali, Sebarjya, Sakua, Mania, Chandan, Karamya, Salya, Pancha, Ichan-Pancha Kshatham Baman Chege etc.
13. Muima Chege	Sakua, Shelpatya, Shelachhaya etc.
14. Phaksa	Balka, Baraibecha, Kalachem, Kan, Jinbheda Barakurjya etc.

16. Amu was named Salya Amu	Goda, Dhurjya, Magh, Singira puna etc.
17. Chege was named by the name of Dukhya Chege.	Lulan, Bhuruma, kankra, Dhabana, Bahala, Banyab, Pira -Bhanga, Magh etc.
18. Kheyanchege	Chaidani, Chanai, Doja, Kapalya, Sm, Sardar, Kagunikal Betkaba etc.
19. Leba -The mode of pronunciation of this Goza was not proper.	
20. Uchhuri	
21. Naran or Kura-kutta they were entered to cut hens in pieces. After ward they fled to the hill Tripura and the king gave them the	Nandab, Sures-wari, Jetaia, Aunapura, Pan-Dewan. cha, kana, Bhadan, Bhut, Kyakdara, Amari etc.

name Naran.	
22. Bom	Amu, Parbhoa, Jadi Sarani, Baraia, Badali, Barabhanga etc.
23. Rangi Goza was named after the name of Rangi Pansari	Louha Jhattoa, Bhengea, Bunchege, Kal Pirabhanga, Mendar, Chege etc.
24. Kuduga	Bhula, Kalabagha, Kal, Pingurbhanga etc.
25. LARMA	Pirabhanga, Charjya, Baga, Bhaba, Jadega, Samiha, bhaia etc.
26. A Pedan Chhari .	Pedan Chhari, Kurjya, Mulia, Paiab etc.
27. Haia	Karjya, Dhurjya, Mulia, Paiab, Jalya, Salya, Parabhanga, Talukdar etc.

28. Dhamai Gochha (Fled away)	Chattanya, Sakua, Hagra, Hati, Pira bhanga, Suresware, Baghojha, Karengiri, Agunikana, Rakkoabap, Nadaktul Kankra etc.
29. Chadag Gochha	Sardar, Shesya, Rasiru etc.
30. Babura	Babura, Gajalya, Manaia, Lohakadda, Bhagtap etc.

Barua -- Formarly -- Bengalee Baru-as worked as servants in the palace. During Pagla Raja's reign the Dewans and Talukdar's created this Goza with about 150 families for their house hold works. Now their families extended to one thousand in numbers. They worked in the palace under the guidance of the Dewans and Talukdars. This Goza is also known as Rajparalia. Formerly they guard the palace and joined in the king's army.

They were freed from paying taxes. This system was continued upto the reign of king Harish Chandra. Once they killed a stag but they refused to give the king's share. The king being so angried upon them and laid tax upon them. But they were permitted to live in the king's KHAS-MOUJA.

It is necessary to mention here that each GOZA is comprised of many GUTTHIS or clans. But each GUTTHI is related with the same blood running in all members of the chan and for this reason no matrimonial relation is permitted within the members of the same clan. But marriage is permitted in between different clans among the same GOZA. The scholars thinks that the GOZA system was introduced in the regins of the Mughal. While Chakmas were residing in the Chittagong Hill Tracts which was brought under the sway of the Mughal the tax collectors to facilitate their work bestowed the power upon a choiceable man to them to collect tax from a group of villages. Afterwards the villages were named GOZA after the name of the man or the area. In the British paramountcy also taxes were collected through the chief of the GOZA for easy collection of tax and to encourage the headmen they were honoured with the title of Dewan. The Dewans also were given the power to exercise the judgement of Customary Laws of the Chakmas. It is said that in the Mughal

period there were only twelve GOZAS. In the British period this number was raised to forty or more. The names of the GOZAS and the clans of the Chakmas and the TANGCHONGYA are as follows :-

CHAKMA GOZA

1. Mulima
2. Dhaveng
3. Larma
4. Boga
5. Chege
6. Wangza
7. Babura
8. Kambei
9. Rangi
10. Kuduga
11. Bunga
12. Teiya
13. Tannya
14. Khianjoy
15. Faksa
16. Laskara
17. Kura Kuttya
18. Borbua
19. Puma
20. Ucchari
33. Borkambei
34. Fedungsa
35. Paduga
36. Kinga

21. Pedang Cnuri
22. Angu
23. Poya
24. Hedaga
25. Pema
26. Borchege
27. Mulima
28. Bongsa
29. Chekkaba
30. Darjya
31. Haiya
32. Cnadaga
37. Bung
38. Leba
39. Kuttuchhya
39. Kuttuchhya
40. Kurjya.

TANGCHONGYA

1. Dhunnya 2. Karbua 3. Lambasa 4.Wongyo 5. Mongla 6. Gochalya 7. Lafaisa 8. Mou 9. Millong 10. Anukya 11. Falinsa 12. Bola

Chapter - III

The origin and historical back ground of the Chakmas :

The Burmese call the Chakmas as Tsak or Thek, the kukis call them as Tui-thek, the Mogs call them as Saak (putting very feeble accent on the letter 'k'), the Tripuris call them as Chhakhuma and the local Bengalees of Chittagong call them as Chammua. But the Chakmas accurately pronnounce them as Changma in accordance with the proper generic term. The British pronounce the name of Changma

as Chakma. In later periods the Changmas became known as Chakmas in written form in every where.

In the point of anthropological sphere the Chakmas are of Mogoloid origin and there remains no scope of doubt about the origin of the Chakmas. So in this respect the Chakmas are the out-comes to India. But it is very difficult to ascertain the time of their advent into India. The scholars take it granted that prior long years to the advent of the Aryans in the north-western parts of India the Mongolian ethnic groups emigrated in the north-eastern regions of India departing from the regions of South Western China. The emigrants into India in the far ancient periods are defined by the Scholars as Indo-Mongoloid. In this respect the eminent philologist Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee discussed elaborately in his famous book "Kirat-Janakirti". Theses Indo-Mongoloid ethnic groups were extensively influenced by the Indian Aryan civilisations. By the observations on the Chakmas traditional society and culture, their heritage and ancient history, interferences are logically formed that the Chakmas belong to the Indo-Mongoloid ethnic groups.

The Chakmas have their traditional Ethnic Chronicle named BIJAK written in Chakma language. In it we find that the Chakmas departed India in ancient times and entered into Burma now Mayenmar and lived there for long years. In later periods about in the fourteenth century A.D. They

came to the plains of Chittagong in India leaving Mayenmar. Gradually they proceeded towards Chittagong Hill Tracts and settled down there. But some researching scholars in modern times regard the Chakmas as descendants from the South-eastern people. Such as the eminent anthropologist of West Germany Dr. Heinz Bechart says "Anthropologically the Chakmas belong to the peoples of South-east Asia. Their dress shows similarities with the dress of Burmese and Shan people. There is also a number of customs which hint at a form of "Animism" is very similar to that the people of Burmese and Shan groups before their conversion to Buddhism" (Contemporary Buddhism in Bengal and Tripura by Dr. Heinz Bechart, "Education Miscellany", Vol. IV, No. 3 and 4, Dec. 1967 to March, 1968).

In this context the views of the most famous folklorist Dr. Dulal Choudhury are very interesting and far reaching. He sayd, "The Chakmas are the inhabitants of the south-eastern Asia. They are of Mongoloid ethnic groups origin. In the long long years ago they lived in the Manchuria regions. At that period they were nomadic. Four to five hundred years ago they lived in the Chiengmai regions of the Thailand. Later on due to geographical changes and in quest of permanent settlement they entered into Burma and Arakan. In the pre-British period in India they spreaded over in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, Assam, Arakan and Tripura." (Translated from the book written in Bengali-Chakma

Shabder Dik-Darshan by Dr. Dulal Choudhury, Satyayug, 24th September, 1984).

Besides these the famous British researcher H. H. Risely, the historian Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy and others also found similarities of the Chakmas with the Burmese and the Arakanese and hinted about their origin.

Really in the fields of animism and cultural spheres they are akin to the people of Thailand with special reference to the Shan people. The link of Chakma history can not be over ruled with so many anacdotes of the local history of Burma. There remains ample scopes of Chakma anthropological relations among the inhabitations of central Burma named the kadus, the Chaks of Arakan, the Sekmai and Andros of Manipur. Not only this there remains cultural similarities between the Chakmas and the Aahoms of Assam and Khamtis who were originated from the Shan clan. From these sources we can infer that the Chakmas are of Mongoloid origin.

However, if we analyse the above mentioned Bijak of the Chakmas we can easily take into our considerations that the Chakmas went to Burma from India in far ancient times. As the Chakmas regard them as the descndents from the Shakya clan and the meaning of the Word "Shakya" evolved in course of time and they became known as Chakma. (Such as Shakya>Shak (Tsak)?Chak+ma (Ma- means

MAANUCH or man in Tibeto-Burmese language). The Chakmas believe that their ancestors were driven from India by the foreign invedors and they had to take shelter in Burma now Mayenmer. In true sence it is approved by the history that some people of the Shakya dynesty of India were compelled to take shelter in the north of Burma leaving India. We can cite the name of prince Abhiraj went to the north Burma with all his courtiers, men and army and founded an independent kingdom at the place Sankisa on the bank of the river Iravati or Irrawady in Burmes language (India - Early history - Publication Division and Boradcasting, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1981). Some Chakma historians referred to this Abhiraj as the fore-father of the Chakmas (The Chakmas : Life and struggle by S. P. Talukdar, New Delhi, 1987).

However, in ancient times the Chakmas went to Burma from north India and later on they entered into Chittagong through Arakan and proceeded towards Hill Tracts of Chittagong and settled there or they entered into Chittagong Hill Tracts coming from Chiengmai of Thailand through the regions of north and central Burma and Arakan and it stands on facts that the Chakmas lived in Burma for long years in the past. For this reason their history is inclined and mixed with the Burmese history largely. This truth can not be asided. The ancestors of the Chakmas were known somewhere as kadu or Tsak or Thek.

Now, observaitons can be made over the past history of the Chakmas in the light of their own traditional Chronicles named Bijak. The Bijak is considered to be started from the reign of the Chakma king Bijoygiri. It is said that he went from India and founded a new kingdom in Burma. Some of the Chakma historians consider the starting of this new kingdom, was taken place in the tenth century and some are of opinions that it started in the seventh century. From the reign of Bijoygiri the Chakma hostorians depicted chronologically of the chronicates of the Chakma history. The chronicles are as follows:

Name of the Kings	Period of ruling
1. Bijoygiri	615 A.D. - 645 A.D.
2. Sirittama	646 A.D. - 670 A.D.
3. Saral Nama or Saran Nama	670 A.D. - 685 A.D.
4. Ulat Name	685 A.D. - 700 A.D.
5. Janu (I)	700 A.D. - 720 A.D.
6. Kamal Janu/Kamal Chege	721 A.D. - 750 A.D.
7. Unaj giri/Uchcha giri	750 A.D. - 770 A.D.
8. Manij giri/Maisya Giri	770 A.D. - 800 A.D.

or Manek Giri	
9. Kamal Jug (Probable)	800 A.D. - 900 A.D.
10. Madan Jug	
11. Jiban Jug	
12. Ratan Giri/Ratna Giri	
13. Dhan Giri	
14. Sanna Giri	
15. Budhang Giri	900 A.D. - 1,000 A.D.
16. Dharma Giri	
17. Manorath	
18. Arijit	
19. Maimangsa	
20. Kebal	1000 A.D.-1025 A.D.
21. Bairindam or Arindam	1025 A.D.-1065 A.D.
22. Jnananu	1065 A.D. - 1100 A.D.
23. Swetabrata	1100 A.D. - 1150 A.D.

24. Sakalia	1151 A.D. - 1190 A.D.
25. Bijoy Manik (Bangalee Chief)	1191 A.D. - 1245 A.D.
26. Madalia	1245 A.D. - 1250 A.D.
27. Mamal Chege (2)	1250 A.D. - 1260 A.D.
28. Ratan Giri/Tatna Giri(2)	1260 A.D. - 1275 A.D.
29. Chakradhan/Cheilya-dhabeng	1275 A.D. - 1285 A.D.
30. Feilyadhabeng	1285 A.D. - 1295 A.D.
31. Sermatia	1295 A.D. - 1315 A.D.
32. Arun Jug	1316 A.D. - 1333 A.D.
33. Surjyajit/Maisyang	1345 A.D. - 1364 A.D.
34. Chandrajit	1364 A.D. - 1385 A.D.
35. Ramthangja (Muinsyang)	1385 A.D. - 1417 A.D.
36. Radangsa	1418 A.D. - 1447 A.D.
37. Kala Thangja	1148 A.D. - 1480 A.D.

38. Tain Sureswari	1480 A.D. - 1515 A.D.
39. Janu (II)	1515 A.D. - 1540 A.D.
40. Upakhan	1540 A.D. - 1566 A.D.
41. Udang	1565 A.D.-1590 A.D.
42. Kanghla Pru	1590 A.D.-1607 A.D.
43. Sattua (Pagala Raja)	1607 A.D.-1614 A.D.

(There was no king from 1615 to 1624 A.D.)

44. Katua Rani	1625 A.D.-1640 A.D.
45. Dhabana	1640 A.D.-1660 A.D.
46. Dharamya	1661 A.D.-1684 A.D.
47. Mogalya	1684 A.D.-1712 A.D.
48. Subhal Khan/Jubal Khan	1713 A.D.-1714 A.D.
49. Jallal Khan/Jalal Khan or Jamoul Khan	1715 A.D.-1725 A.D.
50. Fateh Khan	1726 A.D.-1735 A.D.
51. Sejjhon Khan	1735 A.D.-1737 A.D.

52. Sermust Khan	1737 A.D.- 1758 A.D.
53. Ser Jabbar Khan	1758 A.D. - 1765 A.D.
54. Ser Daulat Khan	1765 A.D. - 1782 A.D.
55. Jan Box Khan	1782 A.D. - 1797 A.D.
56. Tabbar Khan	1797 A.D. - 1801 A.D.
57. Jabbar Khan	1801 A.D. - 1811 A.D.
58. Bakdeb/Macdeb	1811 A.D. - 1824 A.D.
59. Dharam Box Khan	1825 A.D.-1832 A.D.

(Period from 1832 to 1843 was under the British rule).

60. Kalindi	1844 A.D. - 1874 A.D.
61. Harishchandra Roy	1874 A.D. - 1884 A.D.

(From 1885 to 1896 was under the British rule)

62. Bhuban Mohan Roy	1897 A.D. - 1933 A.D.
63. Nalinaksha Roy	1935 A.D. - 1951 A.D.
64. Tridib Roy	1953 A.D. - 1971 A.D.

65. Debashis Roy 1977 A.D.

To discuss about the above mentioned Chakma chronicles it is necessary to state that from the kingdom of the king Tain Sureswari i.e. from the begining of the sixteenth century the reliability on the chronicles are formed. Many information prior to this period are found in the Burmese history. Yet these information do not affirm strongly. In this context it is to be mentioned here that the Chakma historians want to mark the year 1333 that is from the downfall of the Arun Jug as the year of coming of the Chakmas from Burma to Chittagong.

Probably after coming to Chittagong in the fourteenth century the Chakmas had to fight for existence with the Arakanese or the Burmese in one hand and other hand with the Mughals and they abled to retain their freedom for about two hundred years. But in the seventeenth century the Mughals became very stronger in that region and the Chakmas were compelled to maintain fraternal relation with them. The need for obtaining the friendship of the Mughals was to resist the indomitable Arakanese. The Chakma kings adopted the title of KHAN as a mark of friendship with the Mughals. But adopting of this title was confined only with the kings and some of the courtiers only. It is to be mentioned here that though the Chakma kings added the title KHAN with their name yet they did not embrace Islam as their religion. They remained always in the faith of

Buddhism. And with the impacts of Buddha Tantrajanas they were influenced with some of the rituals of the Hindus. But for adopting the title of KHAN by the Chakma kings some writers such as Hutchinsion and others think that the Chakmas are of Muslim hereditarians and their progenitors. But this line of thinking is nothing but full of errors. However, in the middle of the seventeenth century the Mughals strengthened their grasps over Chittagong and its surroundings and for fear of the Mughals the Chakma kings agreed on a pact with the Mughals to give tax on a fixed rate annually by cotton to the Mughals and to remain as their tributary friends. But at the battle of Plassey the English won and in 1760 Mirkashim, the nawab of Bengal, was compelled to hand over Chittagong to the English and the conflict between the Chakmas and the English started from this time. In the year 1777 the struggle began on an offensive mood and continued up to 1787. In many battles the Chakma soldiers repulsed the British army gallantly. Later on the English took the policy of forbading the Chakmas for entrance to the markets in the plain areas. The English policy was to debar the economical process of the Chakmas. Naturally strain on economy bluntly hurt and the Chakma king Janbox Khan was compelled to be subdued to the English with promising a fixed amount of money to send annually to the English chequer in lieu of giving cotton - tax. Thus the British rule

continued upto 1947. After the partition of India Chittagong was included with defunct East Pakistan now Bangladesh. Chittagong is now a district of Bangladesh.

Chapter - IV

JHUM CULTIVATION

FOR THEIR LIVELIHOOD. THE METHOD OF JHUM CULTIVATION

In the long distant past the Chakmas penetrated from Arakan through the Hill tracts into Tripura. The fertile Hill tracts of Tripura was one of their attractions to come and settle to live there. Like other tribes of Tripura the landless Chakmas fully depended on the system of Jhum cultivation for their livelihood. The method of jhum cultivation is almost the same of all tribes usually follow. Jhum is a familier term to the tribal people. Sometimes they are called Jhumias as they live on Jhuming.

From prehistoric periods to this present day of civilisation the system of cultivation of Jhum is a type of cultivation of crops on the hill slopes or tops. In the early Spring time a plot of virgin forest is cut. When the branches of the trees and weeds are completely dried, these are burnt.

The system of cultivation of Jhum may be grouped into the following stages :

A. Plot selection : At first plots of virgin forest land usually measuring one to five acres are selected on a suitable hill or its slopes. A virgin area is choosen because of its great fertility resulting a bumper crop.

B. Cutting : After having plot selection the bushes and trees are cut down. The branches of the large trees are cut down because they give shade to the crops which are affected by low production. The process of cutting is completed during the winter season in the month of November to February. The family members who have working capacity are engaged considering the volumeness of works.

C. Drying and setting fire :-

After cutting the trees, herbs and bushes are kept to dry in the sun. When these are well dried in the intense sun fire and these are burnt. The bushes, weeds and herbs are burnt to ashes. The stems and branches of big trees are half burnt.

D. Clearing of burnt :-

In April and May rainfall comes and the plot is cleared off. The half burnt stems and branches are used as fuel wood.

E. Sowing the seeds :-

When the rain comes the plot of land becomes

fertile. Various crops together with paddy are shown in the JHUM area. Sesame, Cotton, Variety of Pumkins, Onions, Yams, Potatoes, Cucumbers, Melons, Bringal, Chilies, Ladies fingers and other variety of spices are cultivated. For JHUM cultivation the Chakmas use little edge-shaped hoes, cutter locally named as TAGAL and Khunti. The seeds are put together in the short holes made by the sharp end of TAGAL.

When sowing of seeds are completed a MONOGHAR is made with bamboo and twigs. Monoghar is a Chakma term for a temporary house in a plot of JHUM area to look after the crops by protecting from wild beasts. Some of the members of the family and in times of need the whole family transfer their residence to this Monoghar for the time being to protect their crops.

F. Collection of Crops :-

In the months of May and June the maize plant yield their crops. After this paddy comes in the months of June to August. During August and September cotton is plucked. Other vegetables are also plunked in the meantime. After harvesting the crops the JHUMIAS sell these products at the local markets to purchase the daily needs as salt, oil, dried fish, salted fish etc.

Products of JHUM cultivation as given below :

are based on good JHUM havest.

Name of Crops	Seeds shown Per acre land	Products Per acre of land
Cotton	3 seers	4 to 5 mounds.
Paddy	10 seers	5 to 8 mounds.
Sesame	0.25 seer	2 to 3 mounds.
Cucumber locally named as Chindira, Marpa	--	3 to 4 mounds.
Lady's fingers, beans and other vegetables	--	0.25 to 0.5 mounds.
Brinjal	--	0.5 to 1 mounds.
Chillies	--	1 to 2 mounds.
Courds	--	6 to 8 mounds.

RANYA is the local name of the deserted JHUM. The legend goes that this RANYA is sometime called as a vegetable market.

G. Effects of JHUM cultivations :-

The process of JHUM cultivation severely affects the forests in several kinds. As a result of continuous JHUMING forest become savannas which means grass land mixed with a few trees. To revert a forest again it takes at least eight to twelve years. Dense forests are lowering in numbers. Tigers, elephants and other wild beasts are hereby seen in the forests. Firing of JHUMING plots may sometimes spread to the other forest area and destroy other portion of the forest also. This type of cultivation may cause a

climatic change over the whole forest areas. This may cause the low or irregular rainfall. The temperature of the area may be increased or decreased. In the economic point of view as well as the social environmental point the government has been alarming against the coming dangers from the JHUMING system of cultivation. Soil preservation is a burning question of the day.

Since restrictions have been imposing on JHUM CULTIVATION for preservation of soil and to protect forest the landless Chakmas have been fallen into troubles. They had to search out JHUM land. They began to move from place to place to find out suitable JHUM land. Since the JHUMING land becomes searece day by day a good number of landless Chakmas are moving out of Tripura in quest of fertile JHUMING land in the neighbouring states. They are to live with the Bengalees and they are accustomed to Bengalee habit of living. Thus we find many of the Chakmas in Tripura are accustomed, to Bengalee customs. The land holder Chakmas are adopting themselves to till the land with plough. Even they are acquiring knowledge to use modern tools to grow more corn. The Agriculture Deptt. has been providing various facilities to modernise their agricultural system. The young generations are very much interested to use modern techniques and have become a part & parcel of the green revolution of India.

CATEGORY OF CHAKMA WORKER AS PER CENSUS OF INDIA - 1981

West District	Construction Worker	Trade & Commerce	Transport Communications Stall etc.	Other services
	M = 2 F = 0	M = 1 F = 0	M = 1 F = 0	M 16 F 04

NORTH DISTRICT

Construction Worker	Cultivator	Agri Labour	Live stock, Forestry, Fishing, Haunting etc.	Other Service	House hold Industries	Marginal Worker	Manufacturing other than house holding
M = 24 F = 01	M=4344 F = 923	M=892 F = 328	M = 78 F = 11	M = 234 F = 74	M = 0 M = 21	M = 89 F = 833	M 09 F 05

SOUTH DISTRICT

Cultivator	Agri Labour	Live Stock & Forestry	House Hold Industry	Other than House hold Industry	Construction	Trade & Commerce	Transport & Commerce	Other services	Marginal Worker
M 3151 F 743	M 592 F 189	M 6 F 0	M 1 M - 4	M 0 M - 4	M - 18 F - 0	M 3 F 2	M 4 F 0	M 51 F 14	M 065 F 316

CHAKMA PATTERN OF VILLAGES AND DWELLING HOUSE.

The livelihood of the Chakmas were mainly depended on farming on settled areas as well as JHUMING. The Chakmas who fully lived on JHUM cultivation were leading a migratory life in search of cultivable JHUM land year by year. To facilitate JHUM cultivation and harvesting of crops they build a small hut in the JHUM land. This hut is known as TAUNG is derived from the Burmese/Arakanese. Besides the JUMIA families there were many Chakma families who lived on settled cultivable lands. To quote the observation of W.W. Hunter in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1885, at page 449, " In one point they (Chakmas) differ from all the other hill tribes, - they are very averse to changing the sites of their villages, which are kept from generation to generation at one place, they do not aim at any permanency of structure, the houses being built in the fashion of the hills with bamboos only and roofs thatched with wild jungle leaves/sun-grass".

The description of the Chakma house is given according to the observation by Hutchin-son in his book, ' Chittagong Hill Tracts' , 1909 at page 25, " These house are built entirely of bamboo with a machhan floor raised some six feet above the ground.

The house is divided into compartments, and the

requirements of the married members of the family are first attended to. In the event of several families living together, the rooms are apportioned in order to seniority. For instance, in a family of which three members are married, the house will be divided by mat into four compartments. The outer one is reserved for the unmarried male members or for the use of visitors, and is called Pinagudi, the next apartment will go to the eldest male representative of the family with his wife, and the third room will be given to the youngest married member. Each room averages fifteen feet in length, including the Ochaleng or back verandah, which is from five feet to seven feet in breadth. When laying out the compartments the house is divided breadth wise, taking the centre or ridge pole of the house as the line of division on which to mark out the family quarters and kitchen. In the front of the house is a verandah which is divided into two by a mat partition for the use of the males and females respectively. In front of the verandah a big open space or raised platform, used for various house hold purpose. Small compartments may be erected on this for the storage of grains, cotton, or house hold effects, but as a rule the grain is stored away from the house for safety in case of fire. The Chakmas now form generation to generation. Severals of the wealth headmen have built the houses of a permanent nature, but the majority of the tribe are quite contented to occupy houses built in the hill fashion, which are eminently suited to the requirements of the country.

The Chakma villages are generally built up on the bank of a river or on the slope of a hill where remains a stream or water source. The villagers generally belong to a particular GOZA. The members comprising of a family live in one group. By living together they gradually develop a social group amongst themselves. A Chakma family is formed on the marriage of a man to a woman or man to women. Polygamy is allowed in the Chakma society. As the Chakmas are in patriarchical family so the oldest man possesses the absolute power over the family. Naturally the desire for a male off-spring was the chief aim of the marriage. There remains two factors for such kind of desireousness. Firstly the male members of a family would be able to support the family by cultivating the JHUM land and they would also be abled to do such works which would require more physical labour. Secondly the patriarchal and partrilineal systems would be retained by the male members. The male members of a family would build their houses adjacent to one another. Any other persons would not be permitted to build house in between them as they regard it as BHARBO (bad omen).

The Chakma houses are scattered all over the village. At every their concentrated areas they build Buddhist Monasteries. The Monastery boy is known as KYANG THAGA which are originally Burmese or Arakanese word.

The inhabitants of the Chakma villages live very peacefully. Any incident of crime is rarely happened. Sometimes some disputes of social nature are occurred and these are primarily dealt in the light of Chakma social customary laws. Almost all the disputes are metigated by these laws. The British writer T.H. Lewin wrote in his book, " "The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Dwellers Therein"-- "The Chakmas allow no songs to be sung in as near their villages save those of religious character. Love songs they say, demoralise the young girls. In JHUM or jungle, however, their tongue is free".

But the life of the Chakmas at present days have transited to a great extent. The impact of modernisation and the rapid spreading of elementary and higher educational fascilities are some of the main factors for changing of traditional life style and way of thinking. The forest lands of Tripura have been decreasing awfully from past some decades. As a result adequate forest lands for JHUM cultivation have become rare and consequently many JUMIA families have been compelled to leftout their traditional JHUM CULTIVATION. They are compelled to adopt farming in the plainlands like other inhabitants in the plains of Tripura. This transitional period can be traced in Tripura since 1950 till this time. It has been seen that at present time not more than twenty percent of Chakma people are clinged with the JHUM cultivation in Tripura. Educated Chakmas are on govt. services of different

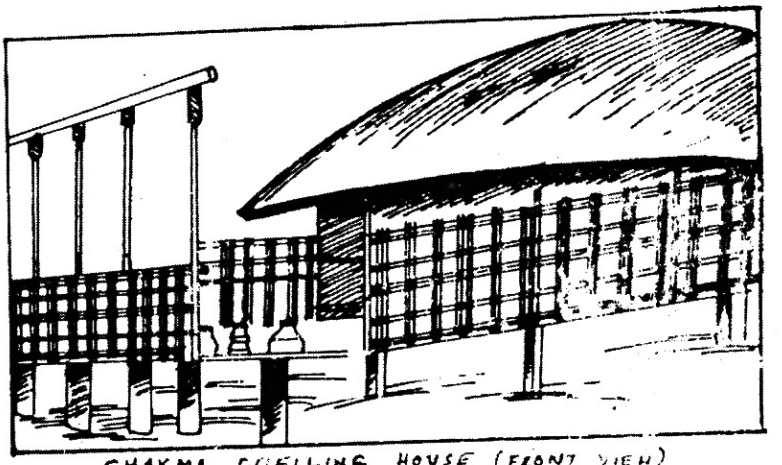
professions. Other Chakmas have taken different trades of business and jobs according to their capability and choice.

So we find now-a-days in the Chakma villages do not appear to follow the age long traditional beliefs. Love songs have become more and more favourite to them. Their traditional cultural spheres were mainly grown up and fostered basing on JHUM cultivation and JHUM harvesting. Some Pujas and their rituals were also based on farming. Moderisation and the harsh materiality have made them what they are.

CHAKMA MAJAGHAR

Back Side

FRONT SIDE



CHAKMA DWELLING HOUSE (FRONT VIEW)

1. OJLENG (Store room)

2. GUDI (Bed room for house holder and his wife)

3. GUDI (Bed room for sons and daughter)

4. SINGABA (Drawing room and resting place for guests)

5. OLANSAL/PIJAR (Place for cooking)

6. CHANA (Sitting place)

7. KUMGHAR (Place for keeping water containers)

8. SAJHI (Place for storing of water for washing hands and feet)

9. MACHANG (Open place)

10. SHHANGU (wooden ladder)

Food & Drink :

The Chakmas of Tripura mainly belong to Buddhism and inspired by the thoughts of Lord Buddha. They mainly depend on agriculture for their livelihood. They produce variety of crops mainly on JHUM cultivation. The practice of JHUM cultivation has been discouraging and restricting by the Government level through educative measures and

has been utilising the strong media of publicity for soil conservation. The Chakmas produce paddy, sesame, cotton Yarn, Yam, potatoes, variety of pumkins, cucumbers, melons, bringal, chillies, ladies finger etc. Their normal diet includes rice, vegetables, radish, pumkins, variety of pulses, yams, chillies, bringals, cauliflowers, tomatoes, plantain, milk, cheese and the products of milk etc. They eat flesh of animals also such as goat, foul pig, buffalo, fish, frogs and reptiles. They use their indigenous beverage or country liguor made of rice and root of a kind of local plant. The women folk generally prepare these liquors at their homes but they do not generally drink liquors. These liquors smell strong but sweet. The Chakmas are of habit of smoking. They cultivate tobacco plants and prepare tobacco. For smoking they use hooka made of bamboo. They chew betel leaf and betelnuts.

But it is to mention here that the Chakmas have forsaken their customs and food habit due to the change of geographical area and the rapid transition of modernisation of the society. The impact of modern education and mixed culture of India have left a great influence on the food habit and their social livings to some extent.

We are giving some of the Chakma cuisines as for examples : CHUMA GUDIYA - Vegetables, green, Onion, fish, salt, turmeric etc. are stuffed into a bamboo piece of measuring twelve to sixteen inches

height. After placing the mixed articles the bamboo stripe are kept into the fire of low temperature and after a reasonable time it is taken away from the fire. This heating system indirectly protects the full food value.

(B) SIDOL - The Chakmas are very fond of sidol which is a preparation of fish with pungent smell. The Burmese popularly call it NGAPI.

(C) KEBANG - The food stuffs are packed into banana leaf. After good packing it is placed outside the fire place keeping a very low temperatures.

(D) EGG CUISINE - Egg cuisine made of rotten eggs is very popular among the Chakmas.

(E) LIQUOR - The Chakmas are very fond of liquor. In almost every family the preparation of liquor thrives like cottage industry. Usually two varieties of liquors are produced by them. One variety is very strong and the other one is mild and smells sweet. The strong variety is called DWA CHUNI. It burns if it is taken undiluted. The mild one is called JOGARA. The Chakmas serve liquors freely in all major festivals.

The system of eating food of the Chakmas has a special feature. They usually eat food under a roof or inside the room. The Chakma aristocrats make sitting arrangements on the floor by spreading cotton

mattress covered with JUMMA CHADAR. Generally they sit cross legged on a mat at the time of eating food. A MEJANG (low table) is used for keeping food stuffs on it. It is made of bamboo cane. There is a different kind of eating tool made of iron sticks and belts which known as BHUJONGBER. This tool is generally of twelve to sixteen inches in height with round shape on the top having three supporting legs. The upper class families such as Dewan, Talukdar, headman, the nobility use it. The poor Chakma use MEJANG made out of bamboo having square size of about ten to twelve inches on top. This is an example of ancient Buddhistic area. The Chakmas also use DABAR which is a container for passing urine at night. The DABAR was made of copper. This shows the mark of civilisation and advancement of culture.

Hunting :

Hunting is considered a process of food gathering to the Chakmas of Tripura. As their dwelling places were in the hill tracts or nearest to the forests they could easily hunt the animals and birds which were abundant in the forests of Tripura. The animals and the reptiles like bear, deer, hare, bison, elephant, tiger, porcupine, iguana, python and birds like fowl, dove, parrot, myna etc. were easily hunt by them applying various methods and tactics. Their methods and tactics specially their trapping system symbolize and resemble to those of the people of Burma now Mayenmer, Thailand and the South-East Asia and

most of the people of these countries are of Mongoloid origin. With the destruction of forests at random these animals and birds being rare in the forests yet the tribe is still now fit and courageous for hunting these animals.

To the Chakmas hunting is not only as economical activity but a sort of sport also. Hunting is of two types -- one is a joint-venture and other is an individual effort. The person who is expert in hunting with some past experence is selected as the party leader in case of joint-venture in hunting. All the members of the party follow the instruction of the leader and act accordingly. Generally equipments like gun, bows and arrows, spear, sword, bamboo stick, TAGAL (Chopper) are used in hunting. The hunting party track the hunt by surrounding the area and begin to reduce the circle. Some of the men begin to beat the jungle alongwith shouting to make fear the animals and as well as to encourage the party men to follow the hidden animals from the hide outs. The pet dogs also help the party to make out the hidden animals. They attack and kill the animal which is found in a suitable position. Obviously the gun man has the advantage to kill the animal by target shooting.

For an individual task of hunting generally pits are made in the usual course of passing of the animals. In the evening pits are made and they are covered with creepers, wild leaves and bamboos to mislead the animals so that they do not hesitate to go

through the path. After finishing the task the hunter waits in his suitable position. When an animal falls in the pit the waiting hunter comes out and finish his task by beating it. The hunter uses some other sharp weapons in case of big animals. Some times the hunter takes his position in the jungle before dusk. He takes the gun or the bows and arrows with him and waits for the animal. When he finds the animal in a suitable position he shoots the animal with the gun or pricks the animal with the bow and the arrows. A peculier sound is often made by the hunter to attract the animal.

To facilitate our discussions some trapping systems of the Chakmas are given as examples :-

(A) KABUK - This is one of the familiar trapping system of the Chakmas to catch the animals like deer, boar, porcupine, hare, bisons etc. It is set in such ways where the animals usually cross over. The Chakmas can identify the passing ways of the animals. They set the trap in such a way that when the animal is just to cross the trap, a log or beam falls down very quickly on the victim and kills.

(B) KERAP - It is a Cage-trap with door. Kerap is of two types in sizes. A big kerap is for catching big animals such as boar, deer, tigers. A smaller size is meant for catching smaller animals and birds like hare, porcupine, fowl, dove etc. When the animal or bird enters into the cage the door of the cage

automatically closed up and the victim can not come out and easily it caught by the hunter.

(C) EDHI - It is a kind of noose-trap for catching wild fowl, patridge, parrot and other birds. It is spreaded on the ground with a bait. A kind of bean-seed or paddy is kept at the middle of the noose to tempt the bird to peck the bean-seeds. When the bird pecks the bean seed, the noose of the trap is clunged at the neck of the bird as the bending stick goes off. The bird is hanged by the neck and easily is caught by the hunter.

(D) JHANGEI - It is a kind of noose - trap to catch wild fowl by a trained pet fowl. The trap is made of twisted coarse threads. It is spreaded arroundly and the trained pet fowl begins to call. When a wild fowl comes there and is easily trapped.

(E) PEIKJAL - It is a kind of net to catch birds. It is set by the help of two bamboos on the way of the birds usually fly in flocks. When the birds come in flocks, some of them are grasped in the net. Beside this the Chakmas hunt the birds by the gun or the bows and arrows.

(F) FUU - It is made of a straight small bamboo measuring 2.5 meters to 3.5 meters in height. The inside joints or knots of the bamboo are removed very smoothly. A strip made of iron measuring fifty to seventy centimeter in length is taken and one end of the strip is sharpen like a spear and the other end of

the strip is bound with soft feathers of the bird. The sharpen end of the strip is to enter into the hole through the bottom of the bamboo. The bird is aimed by the hunter and the hunter makes fuu by pushing air through the bamboo and the iron strip strikes the bird violently reaching seven to nine metres distance. It is to be mentioned here that the SAKAI tribe of Malayasia also used this type of hunting instrument.

Besides the Chakmas use gum traps for catching birds in the Jhum areas. Sticky juice of some plants are used as adhesive. These are pasted on the perch and are placed in the Jhum land and when the small birds come to eat the crops or insects they often sit on these perch and are stuck by way of fluttering their wings. The waiting hunter comes and catch the bird to kill.

Hunting in the Chakma society is meant only for the men folk. No woman is permitted to take part in hunting. Although there remains no taboo for participating of women in hunting yet they are not allowed as hunting is a hard work and the work is not suitable for women folk. The women are engaged for collection of vegetables and fuels when the men are set out for hunting.

It is to mention here that in case of hunting of boar, deer, bison etc. it is accustomed to the Chakma society to give one hind leg (a portion of thigh) of the killed animal to the leader of the village. But at

present times this system is not adhered to strictly.

If sufficient quantity of meat is collected by hunting the present atmost need of the family is fulfilled. The rest surplus amount of meat is not wasted. It is dried either in the sun or is smoked in the oven. By this process the Chakmas preserve meat for the bad days and it remains for ideal food for long days.

The Chakmas previously used pythons as food. With the extinction of the forest now-a-days these are not available frequently. Yet it remains as a delicious food.

FISHING :

Fishing is another process of food gathering to the Chakmas. The Chharas, rivers, lakes, ponds, water logged areas, streams are the main sources of fishing. Fishing is done through out the whole year. Yet the main season of catching fish starts from the begining of winter season. During this season the water level of the rainfed of the water sources gradually begin to dry. Low level of water facilitates catching fish is various ways with different instruments.

Fishing is done by an individual activity or by a joint venture.

Generally fishing in the Chharas, streams and rivers is done jointly and it is done in other water

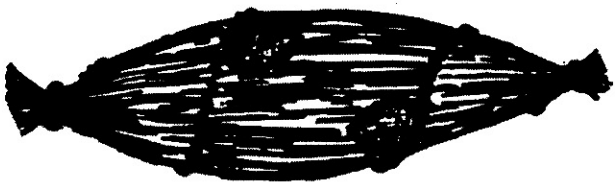
sources by individual venture.

The Chakma processes of catching fish by the individual venture are given below. Their instruments for catching fish are generally made of cane and bamboos.

(1) FAJI : A piece of bamboo measuring about one metre in length is stripped vertically in several parts upto the middle portion of the bamboo piece by a TAGAL or Chopper with haft. The end becomes flexible. Some slices of thorny stem of cane are fixed suitably with the strips of the bamboo to make it an instrument for catching fish. Some edible fragmented beans are given to attract fishes. When the fish enters into this instrument it can not come out due to the thorny stem of cane.

(2) CHEI : It is an oval shaped sewing basket methodically woven having its two entrance paths and made of cane and bamboo strips. The entrance passages are made with cane and bamboo slices so that the fishes only can enter into it and they can not come back.

(3) DUP : It is a round-shaped fishing instrument made of cane and bamboo strips having only one entrance path in the one end which is made such a way with bamboo and cane slices. So that only the victim can enter into it and not capable to come out of it as keen sharped bamboo strips become closed. It



CHEI

is made for catching big fish and tortoise etc.

(4) IJYAMUJHI : It is a bottle-shaped fishing instrument made for catching prawns and fishes. A bamboo piece of medium length is taken. Several strips are made out of three fourth portions of the bamboo piece by a sharped TAGAL. The bamboo strips become flexible and expands. Some slices of cane are taken and sewed methodically with the strips on the flexible end of the bamboo piece making it to an expanded round shaped instrument. In side of this expanded end entrance path is made in such way with the slices of canes and bamboo strips so that prawns and fishes when enter can not go back. The other narrow end is blocked with straw or creepers and leaves etc. and this instrument is set in a place where water passes slowly in the Chhara or water logged field. To take out the prawns and fishes out of

this instrument the blocked end is made free.

(5) ANGLING : It is generally collected from the market. The Chakmas prefer angling in ponds and water logged marshy area.

(6) JAL BARSI : It is net of fish-hooks. The fish-hooks are covered with edibles for fish and spreaded into water. One end of this net is bounded to a bamboo strip or any suitable thing. After a considerable period it is drawn out of the water to have a good fishing.

(7) TERA : A piece of bamboo about eighty centimeters at length is taken. By a sharp TAGAL some strips are made from beginning of one end of the bamboo piece upto about three fourth portions of the piece. The end now becomes flexible to be expanded. Some slices of cane are taken and to be sewed methodically with the strips. Some slices of bamboo and cane are sewed methodically and fixed inside of the expanded end so that fishes can enter and can not go out.

(8) CHABARA : Generally a Chhara or a stream is blocked by sungrass, creepers, canes and bamboos and some TERAS are set up in between the blocked portion. Water can pass slowly through the TERAS and fishes, prawns are entered into it and caught.

(9) JAL (NET) : It is of two types such as URO JAL

CHABARA

Chakma Fishing instruments

and PELAN Jal. URO JAL is spreaded in the water and PELAN JAL is set in a Chhara or a stream.

(10) LUI : It is a basket type fishing instrument made of cane and bamboo.

Besides the above process a small water area is made waterless by lifting of water by sewing basket which is made of cane. After removing the water the Chakmas collect fishes from the bottom clay.

In the Chakma society there is no taboo in fishing. Both men and women folk can attend the fishing activity. Some times children join with their parents also. Pragnent women are excluded from fishing activity for safety.

Sometimes poisonous creepers are used for fishing in the river or chhara. The creepers are cut into small pieces, crushed, threshed and mixed with water in

the upstream of the river or chhara. The polluted water comes down causing respiratory troubles to the fishes. Afterwards the fishes begin to float in the surface of the water. The hunters catch the fishes by using net, spear and TAGAL. The bark of Karai plant is also used as poison by the hunters. In case of collective hunting of fishes the collected fishes are equally divided among the members of the groups.

When collection of fishes is made in a large quantity some of the fishes are dried up in the sun and smoked in the oven and stored for bad days or for the rainy season. They use the dried fishes during the rainy season or in the bad days.

The Chakmas prepare SIDOL by the traditional process and make the rotten fishes under some process into dust. This kind of SIDOL in dust is very favourite to them. To prepare vegetable curry they use this SIDOL in dust in lieu of oil and to make the cooked food to be more delicious. The Burmese or the Arakanese are more apt to preparing the dust SIDOL than the Chakmas of Tripura.

Domestication of animals and birds :-

The Chakmas domesticate the animals and birds traditionally. The animals as pigs, buffaloes, bisons, dogs, goats and birds like fowls, parrots, mynah are domesticated by them. They eat the flesh of pigs, buffaloes, bisons, goats and fowls etc. The pigs and

fowls are domesticated not only as food but also necessary for some rituals and social functions. The dog guards their house and helps them in hunting. They do not eat the flesh of dog. Domesticating of buffaloes and their numbers were considered a social statues to them. Formerly they do not domesticate the cows and rearing of cows was useless to them as the tribe was accustomed to jhum cultivation. But now-a-days with the extinction of forests and acute scarcity of jhum land they are accustomed to plough cultivation and cows and buffaloes have become essential animals for cultivation to them. But they do not eat beef. Besides they do not like milk as food like other tribal people. But this notion has been changed to some extent now-a-days to coup with the present need and the impact of global modernisation influences undoubted for changing the habit. Moreover keeping cows and goats etc. were trouble some to them in the wild atmosphere where ferocious tigers were abandoned. Besides the above mentioned animals and birds many other animals and birds are included in the list of their food.

Previously pigs were kept under the platform of the Tong-house to protect them from ferocious tigers. But now the situation has changed. During day time pigs roam every where and they eat what they like. The fowls also roam in the premises of the house and in the open fields and gather their food from every where. The pigs and fowls are kept in a separate house which is called LUR by them. Some times the

fowls are kept in the baskets in a separate shed.

WEAVING CRAFTS OF THE CHAKMAS :

Cloth is one of the basic needs of man. For this necessity every human society has been endeavoring for acquiring skill in respect of cloths from primitive age.

It is assumed that in Chakma tribal society also the struggle for acquiring skill for weaving cloths prevalent. We find the reference of weaving craft in their mythological thoughts also. In the cosmologies tales of the Chakmas, BIYATRA is one of their guardian deities. Biyatra has two wives. Among them one is Dhaleswari - Ma and the other is Bikrampudi - Ma. Dhaleswari - Ma is the goddess of learning and Bikrampudi - Ma is the goddess of weaving. It is said that the two goddesses are the source of all kinds of learing and the arts of weaving crafts to the human race of the world. Besides this mythological reference we find the mention of weaving craft in the ballad of 'Radhaman-Dhanpudi Pala' in which the heroine Dhanpudi wove SAJHANGYA KHABANG with unbelieveable swiftness by spinning cotton and making threads from that cotton in a day for the hero Radhaman on the eve of his expedition. This SAJHANGYA - KHABANG protected Radhaman as saviour in the battle.

In the Chakma traditional weaving craft only

women are engaged exclusively. There are some restrictions on the part of the males to weave. But the males help the females by making some essential tools to this craft or by supplying the materials of the tools. Cotton is grown in the Jhum. The women prepare thread from cotton by following some processes. The female child also work with the women of the family from her childhood. By working in the weaving craft from childhood a Chakma woman becomes apt in the weaving craft which was considered a special quality of a bride in the past.

SPINNING AND WEAVING :

The tribal characteristic is self sufficiency in the sphere of weaving craft. The Chakmas are fully skilled in their traditional spinning crafts. Tripura is a land of natural resources. Her forests and hills and mountains provide materials for spinning. The raw materials is derived from Jhum cultivation. At the end of the harvesting season cotton is collected from the Jhum and thereafter the seeds are preparated from the cotton. Yarns are made from cotton by means of spinning at the CHARKA , the spinning instruments. The Chakma women weave cloths by loin looms at home. Generally the spinning place is at IJORE or CHANA or front of the dwelling house.

The four steps are to be taken for the weaving crafts of the Chakma. These are (1) sowing cotton seeds in the Jhum and gathering cotton from there.

(2) Spreading off the seeds by the instrument Charki and to make thread by the help of charka, (3) To make various types of colour by indigenous method. (4) To weave cloth by loin loom.

It is needed to mention here that the impact of industrialisation and advancement of modern techniques influenced greatly in the Chakma society also. Now-a-days the Chakma males purchases DHUTI or trousers from the local market and females also wear SARI etc. like Bengalee females. But recently the Chakma society is being alerted against the imitating tendency of wearing dresses leaving their heriditarial customary dresses. Awareness to maintain the customary dresses the elites of the Chakmas are conscious to maintain their heriditarial traditional dresses and this ventures of retaining cultural tradition Chakmas have been responding with enthusiastically. It is a good sign undoubtedly. We hope that in near future the educated Chakmas will take every venture to retain their weaving crafts of traditional skillness.

LOIN LOOM :

The loom is placed by pulling with the waist and for this is called the loin loom. Each tribe possesses separate name of the loin loom. Generally the loin-loom's length is eight to ten hands and the breadth is $2^1/_2$ hands. There requires no seperate room to hang this loom.

These are the materials of loin-looms of the Chakmas :

1. TAGLAWK : This is essential to keep the loin loom hardly. It is made of bamboo and there are curbs in two ends of TAGLAWK.

2. LEHLLEBI : At the time of spinning cloth in the loin loom this lehllebi is to push inside so that the yarns can easily be up and down necessarily. It is made of cane of the bamboo.

3. TARAM : It is made of the bamboo. The two ends remain sharp. At the time of weaving to is necessary to keep the loin loom straight and equal.

4. BIYAWNG : It is very essential material to weaving craft. By this BIYWNG the cloth can be firm and smooth. To weave by means of one by one thread BIYAWNG is necessary to push to be closed. The BIYAWNG is to push in the loom each time and then after it is necessary to draw out. Generally this BIYAWNG is made of from the material of the betelnut tree or CHAW tree (an indigenous name of a tree).

5. BAW-KADI : This BAW-KADI is accessary to keep the yarns remain beneath. This is made of small narrow bamboo material. Its one end is sparpen.

6. SUCHHEK BANSH : One middle sized bamboo

is sparpen at one end to make this Suchhek Bansh. It is necessary to draw up the yarns of the loin loom to make hard the weaving with the help of BIYANG.

7. BEIN-FARAT-DARI : It is used as an alternative of SUCHHEK BANSH. If the SUCHHEK BANSH is opened out by some other reason then with the help of this BEIN FARAT DARI the yarns are again can be raised up. It is made of rope and is not used so long the SUCHHEK BANSH remains at its position.

8. SHIYENG : It is used to keep hard the loin-loom. It is made of bamboo and its one end is sparpen. By the help of this the yarns are to keep firmly. This is raised up after some portion of the cloth is weaved.

9. TAMMO BANSH : It is made of bamboo. It is used to keep firmly the other end of the loom. The two ends of this are bound firmly at the two bamboo poles.

10. TAK-SI-BHAM : It is a small dried portion of animal skin of the deer or buffalo. It is kept behind the waist by binding with TA-SI-CHAM, so that the loom remains straight and the waist remains free from any hurt.

11. KUDUK KADAK : It is made of a prickly animal spine. This spine is being used for making thickness of the cloth.

12. BEIN RISI : It is used as brush to make smooth yarn. It is made from the fruits of the trees RISI, a cacktus species.

Besides these small other materials for weaving are necessary. There are BEIN KADARA (a pot to keep water), BEIN BHERA (a busket to keep thread), SUDANALI, CHARKA NADEI, BEIN RADANG, THUR CHUMA etc.

SOME CHAKMA TERMINOLOGICAL WORDS

Connected with the art of Weaving :

1. Alaam : The mother - texture or diagram of the designs.

2. Ba : The hard yarn.

3. Bein : The loin - loom.

4. Buno - kada : The art of weaving.

5. Ful : Designs.

6. Sach - Padar : All the necessary goods connected with the loom oeprating works.

7. Vera : A disk - like busket made of cane and bamboo which is used as the container of the weaving materials.

8. Mum : Locally collected wax which is being used for smoothing the yearn.

9. Sudhattum : Cumulated yarns.

10. Sudhannali : warped yarns on a small stick.

DYEING :

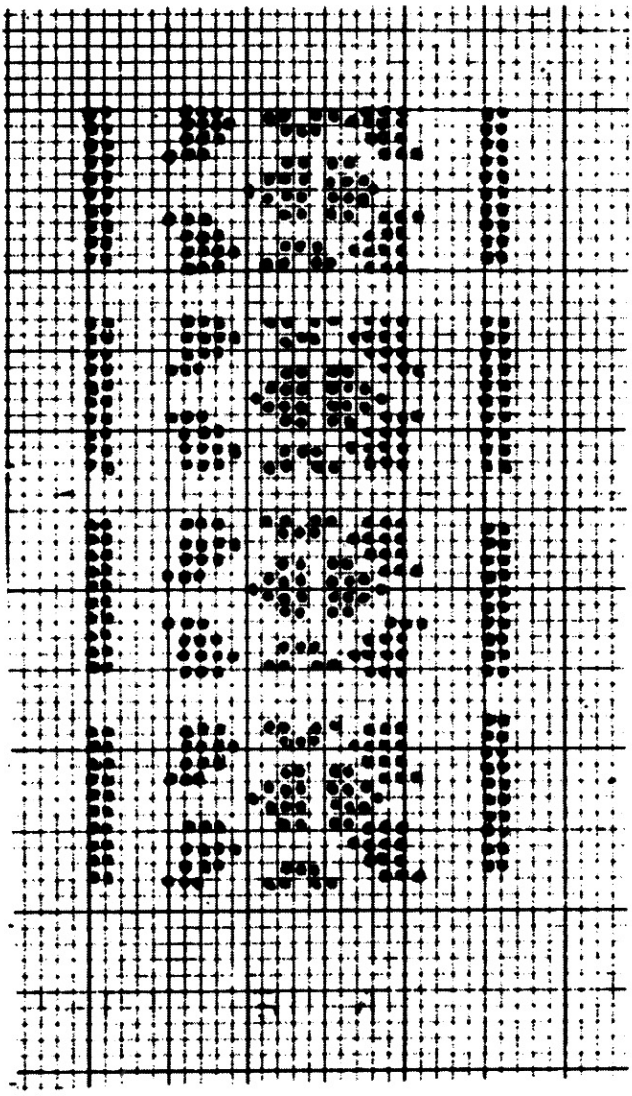
In Chakma language the process of dyeing of threads is called GABDENA. After processing when the threads become ready for weaving then various colours are given according to the choice. Generally the women perform this work of dyeing. Red, black, green, yellow, blue etc. colours are made from the abstruction of the leaves and barks of various kinds of trees. The threads are made colourful with this indigenous process of dyeing. To make the red colour the bark of a kind of RONG tree is used. The bark of KARMA tree is used to make the blue colour. This KARMA tree is a specis of Indigo. The KARMA trees are grown in plenty in Jhum cultivation. ROGOCHKUYO is a kind of juice of wild fruits which is used to make purple colour. To make black colour the bark of JARUL tree is used and SUYOKALI is made from smoke. From the leaves of guava and the beans green colour is made off. To make yellow colour the juice of the leaves of RONG tree and tarmaric are used. To get brightness in the colours the juice of tamarind and edible acid fruit are mixed.

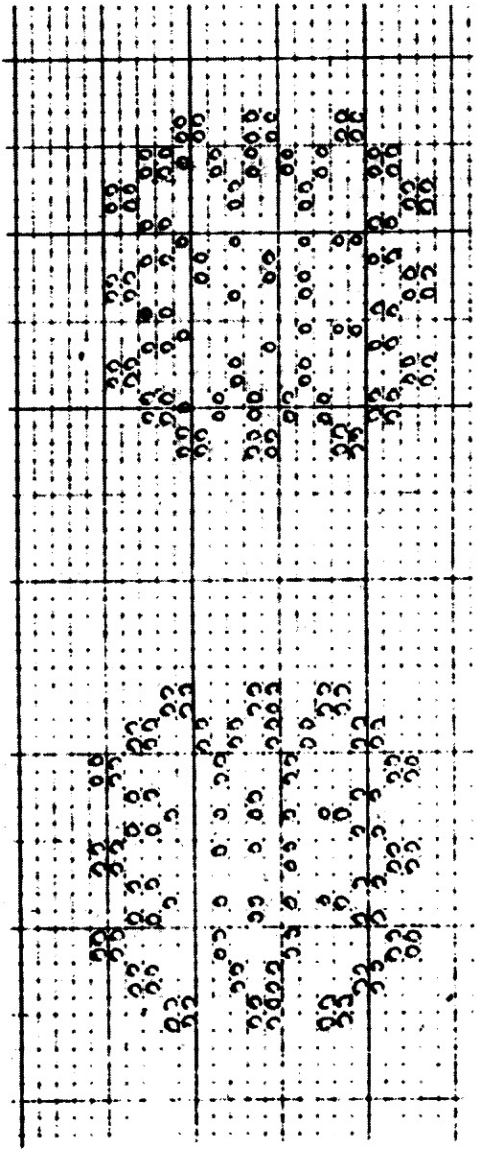
DESIGNS :

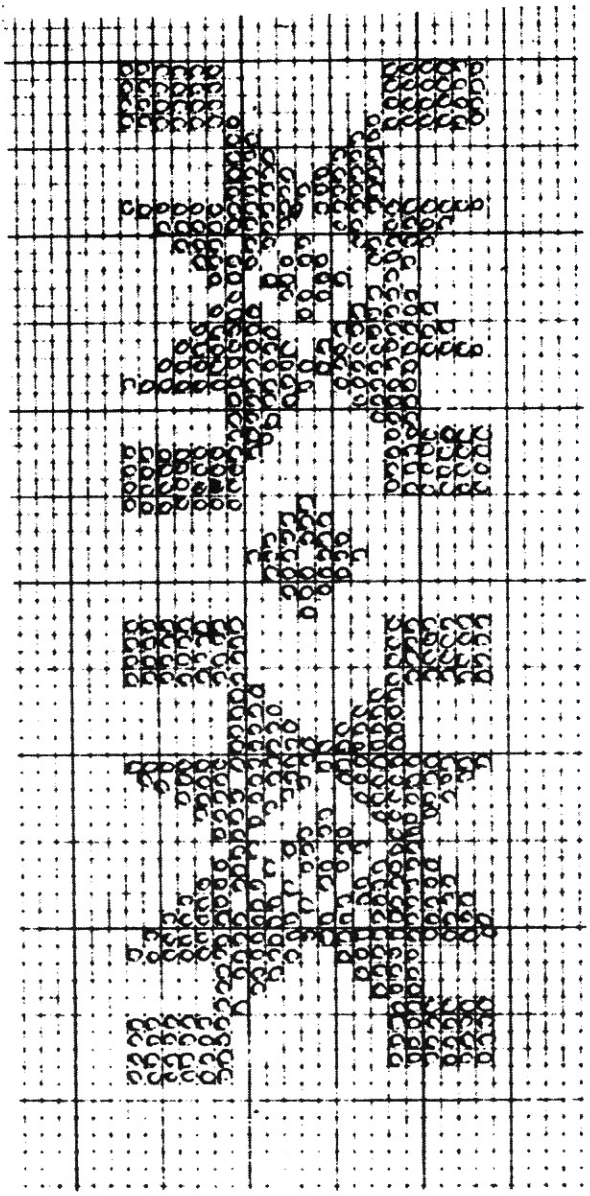
Design is a very remarkable feature of weaving craft. Through this the deepness of the artistic view of a society is revealed. It is superfluous to say that the designs which are used traditonally in the Chakma weaving craft are very high in view of standard. I t is really a praiseworthy craft and artistic skillness of using colours in their clothes.

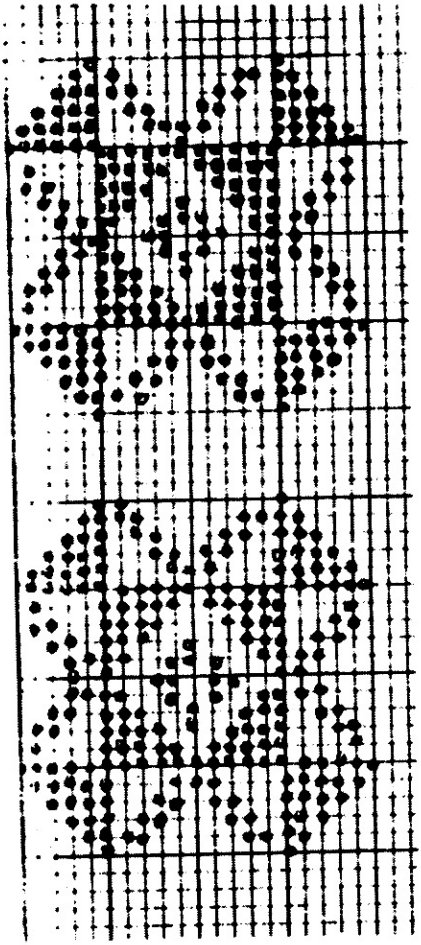
The Chakmas generally prefer bright colours. so we find that their cloths are very colourful and full of various designs. In Chakma language these designs are called FUL (flower). Probably they weave the designs by their loin loom and these designs resembles to numerous kinds of flowers and hence the designs are called FUL. It is necessary to mention here that they weave their cloths by loin looms with specific design for each type of dress. For different types of dress the colours of the furbelow or the end of the loin-cloth and the texture of the cloth are made different. However we are not giving here vivid descriptions of Chakma dresses with numerous colours but we are mentioning here the clothes as weaved by the loin loom in brief.

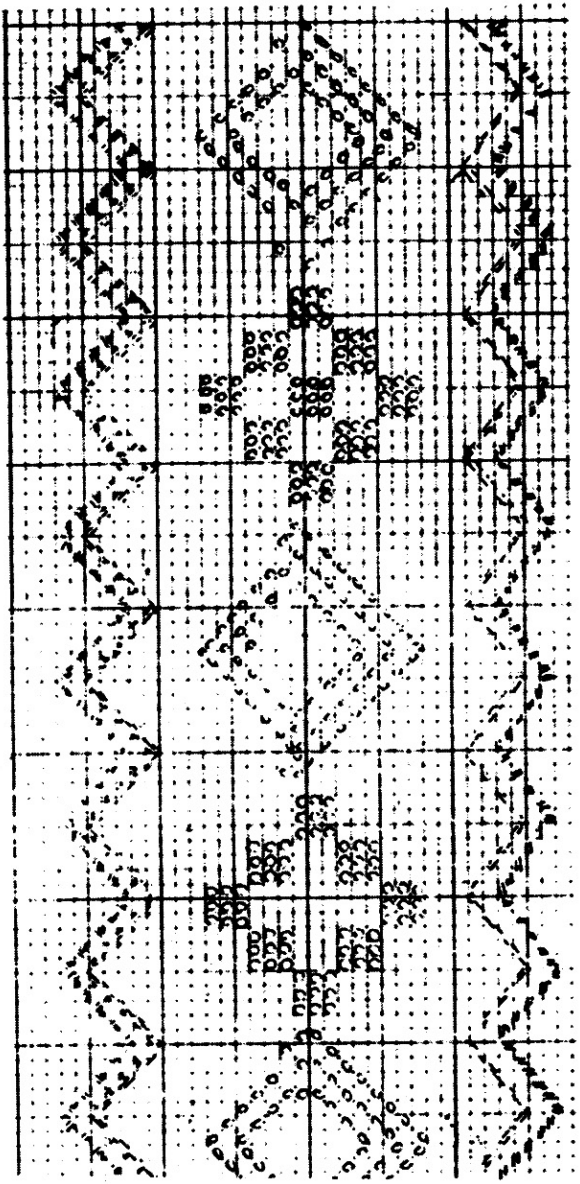
Chakma Designs 8 Nos.

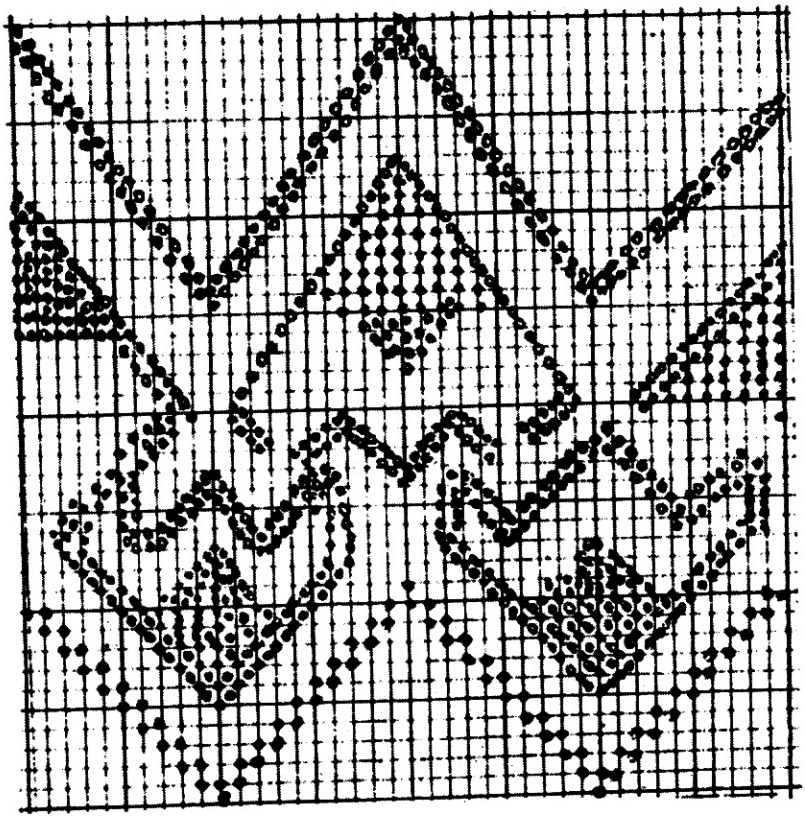


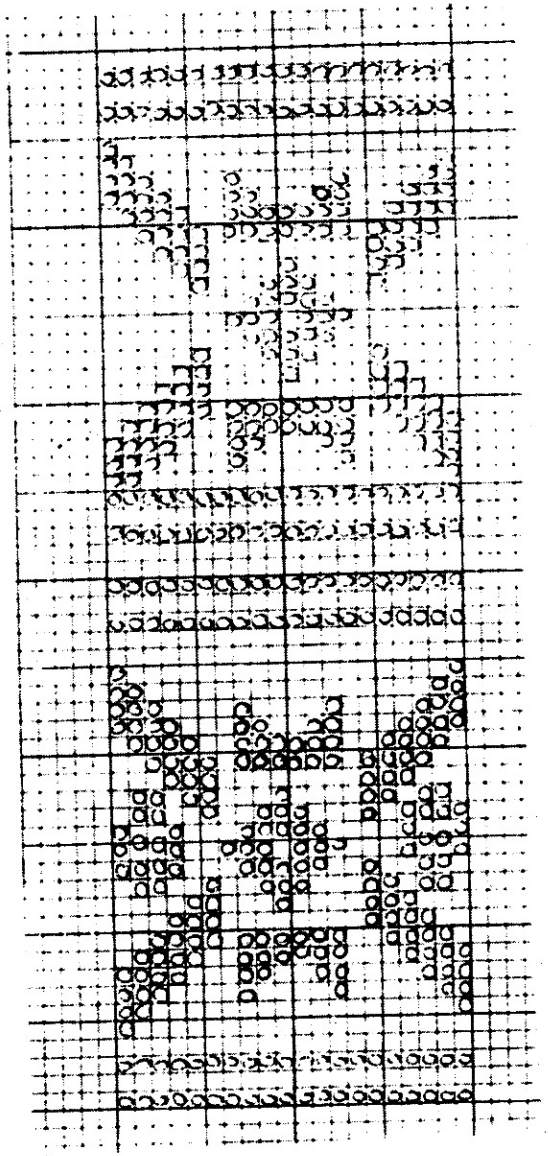


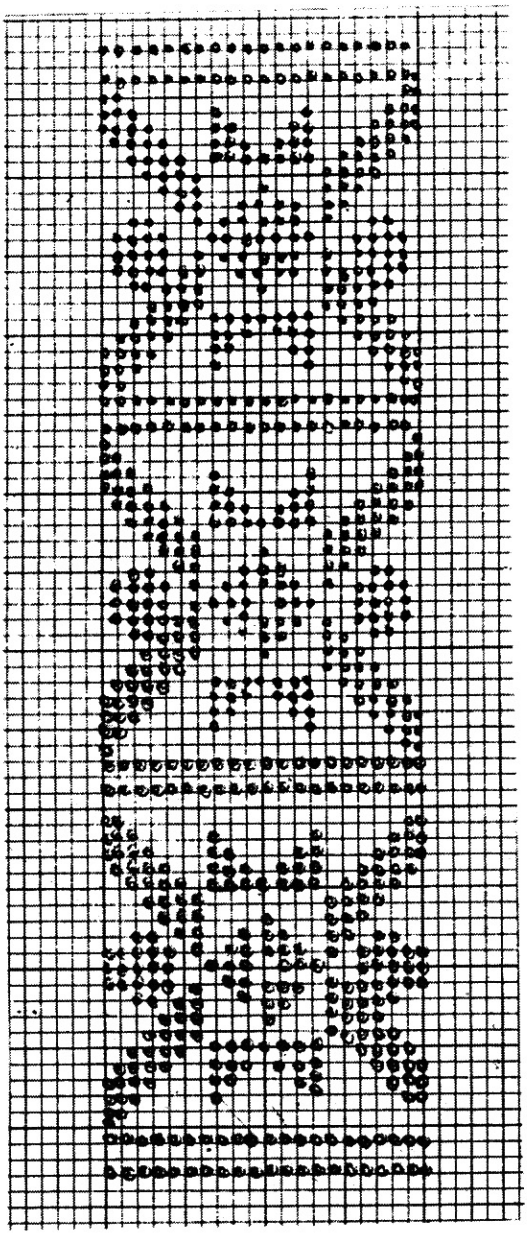












CHAKMA DRESS:

Every tribe has its traditional hereditarian dress and they always try to maintain this traditional hierarchy. So they do not indulge themselves by imitating the clolurs and designs of other tribe. By seeing the colours and designs of cloth and dress we can easily indentify the tribe of which they belong. The Chakmas of Tripra are no longer alienated from this Charateristics of their traqitional dress.

Chakma women works hard all day long. After finishing the day's work they spin their clothes generally at night time. They work spinning and spreading of thread gererally at the IJORE OR CHANA (the front space of their home). Though the influence of medern life has come out the Chakma women till weave their clothes for themselves and for the members of the family. Their handloom colthes are beauifully designed with wounderful colour combination and long lasting. Chakma designs and colours of cloths differentiate them from other tribes.

1. PINON : Pionon is female dress weaved in loin loom. It has no sewing. Generally its Length and breadth are 3 to 3 $^{1}/_{2}$ and 2 to 2$^{1}/_{2}$ hands respectively. One side it has designed CHABUGI. These are JEIDCHABUGI, BIJANFUL CHOKH CHABUGI, DHAN CHHARA, MAWN-AWCHABUGI etc. The cloth of PINON is generally of black colour comprising of two coloured with four inches bordered vertically.

2. KHADI : Khadi is weaved in loin loom for breasts covering cloth of the Chakma girls. The length of it is generally of 3 $^{1}/_{2}$ hands and the breadth is 1$^{1}/_{2}$ hands. Various designs of numerous colours are designed Generally the Chakmas weave two types of KHADI.

(a) RANGAKHADI : Various designs and flowers of many kinds are designed on the red coloured cloth beautifully. This Rangakhadi is generally used by the youth girls.

(b) CHIBIKTANA KHADI : It is weaved by the threads of black and red. It has no designs like Rangakhadi. This kind of Khadi is made for common use.

3. KHAVAWNG : This is used for a head cloth or turban. The white yarns is used for weaving KHAVA -WNG. The females design length of KHAVAN is more than four hands and the breadth is one hand.

4. KARJAL : This is a kind or bag and is knitted with various colours of thread.

5. PANA KHOLYA : is a well decorated smaller bag made of cloth to keep betel leaf and betel nuts etc..

6. GANJA KHANI is a cloth generally weaved or 3 to 3.1/2 hands at length and at breadth one ot 1.1/

2 hands. The poor uses it as a cloth to wear. Various designs are made with various colours of thereads in the GANJA KHANI. Designs of various colours of flowers are made.

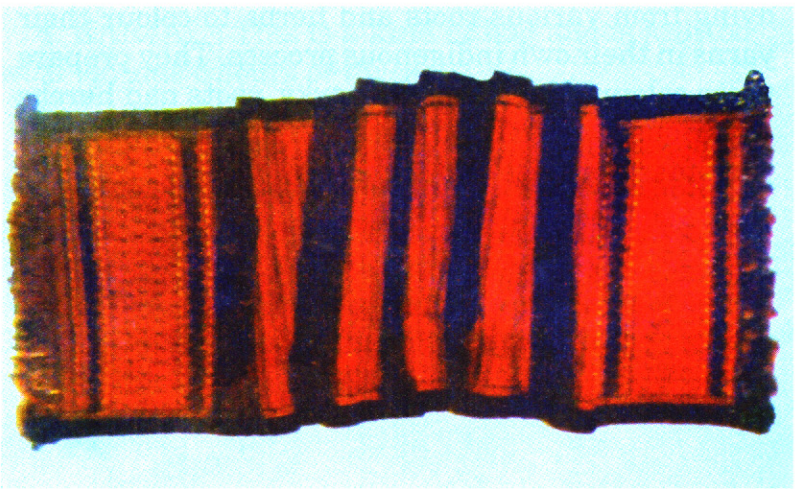
7.TAILA means towel. But most of the women cannot make it. Indrajoy and Raj Chandra made TAILA which shows their silkiness.

8. ALAM : A chart of flowers, creepers etc. and it is used to make cloth by following the ALAM to make designs.

9.BORGI or GILAP is generally made of white colour with red borders of the two sides. The length and breadth are generally of 6 x2 hands. Such two pieces are often stitched together and is used as a kind of chaddar and is used in the winter.

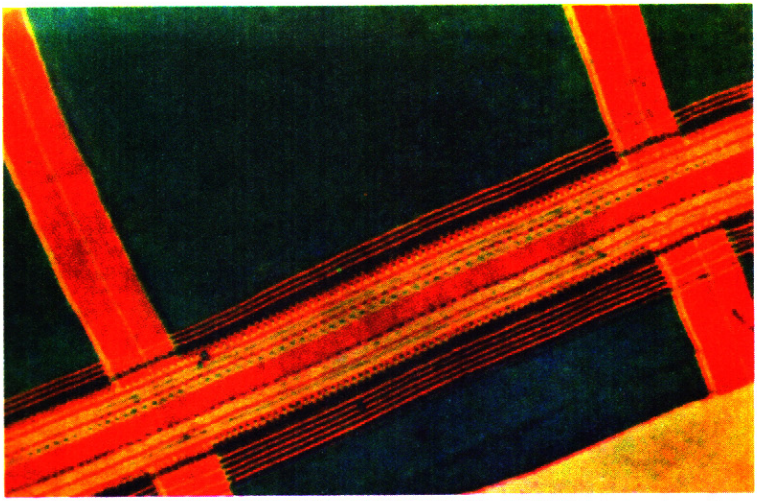
It is to be mentioned that the Chakmas prepare dying from various roots and herbs to colour their yarns in their own indigenous process. They prepare these colours by boiling the barks, roots nad herebs of various kinds of wild trees and plants using their customary process and technics.

Chakma Lady wearing traditional dress



Chakma Range Khadi

Chakma Range Khadi



Chakma Range Pinon

Chakma Couple in Traditional dresses

Chakma folk dance

MALE DRESS :

1.KANI : Kani is a loin-cloth for males to be worn by tucking it tightly between one's leg like a suspensor. It is of two kinds namely JUMMO GANJHA and LECHCHAR KANI. The length and breadth of JUMMO GANJHA KANI generally are 3.1/2 to 4 hands and 1 to 1.1/2 hands repectively. This is used in times of working in the JUM cultivation and it is weaved with threads of darkish colours. LECHCHAR KANI is used for attending in social functions or feasts. It is weaved with white colours like white feathers. Its length and breadth are six to seven hand and three to a half and three hands respectively. It hungs from the waist to the heels or below. the knees.

(2) SHILUM --Shilum is a kind of shirt. It is of two kinds namely Jummo Shilum and kamij shilum. It is used for working in the Jum. It is made of coarse thread. It is generally made of darkish colours. Kamij Shilum is weaved with fine threads with delightful colours. This kind of shirt has no sleeve.

(3) KHABANG -- Khabang is white cloth with colourful ends and is used as turban.

(4) HATTABAR : It is a wrapper with various colours and designs.

(5) JUMMA CHHILUM -- This is weaved in the

loin loom. Jummachhilum is of two kinds -- one is used by the males another type is used various types following light colours. Jummuchhilum for males does not contain any design and is made of simply. Jummachhilum of various colours and designs are generally used by the females of TANNCHAWINYA group. The males and females use Jummachhilum at the time of working in Jumm= cultivation.

(6) FA - DHARI is generally used by the TONGCHONGYA group of females. It is weaved in loin loom of using wist belt. This is some what like a napkin but its breadth is smaller than a napkin. There are light colored designs at the two ends of it. The TONGCHONGYA females use FA- DHARI to keep PINON tightly at the waist.

(7) KAGOI : Blouse like black coloured female dress.

OTHER DRESSES AND CLOTH

1. BORGI : A kind of wrapper in standard size to use in winter season. It is made from coarse thread and is of various colours and designs.

2. CHIBAR : It is made for the BUDDHIST monk and is offered with great reverence. The colour of CHIBAR is of yellow or red ochre.

3. FUL - TANGON : A colourful and designed cloth to beautify the room of the pagoda in whichh the

idol of lord Buddha is situated. The lenght and breadth of the colth is made according to the necessity.

4. FHAORA : This is used in the funeral ritual times at the funeral place. The lenght of this cloth is about one hand and its breadth is about six incehs. It is made of various colours having various designs. The thread of this cloth is made by the innocent teenager - girls.

5. SAJANGYA KANI: It is used by the warriours at the time of battle to wrap with the waist hardly. The length of it is 3 to $3^1/_2$ hands and the breadth of it is six inches. It is made of various designs with various colours. To weave such kind of cloth for the husband the weaver wife follows some taboos. some magical designs are weaved to protect her husband in the battle field.

6. KHOLYA : A kind of bag to keep betel leaf and betel nut. It is of various colourful designs.

8. PAJHAGHAR : It is used to play dice and weaved with definite colour.

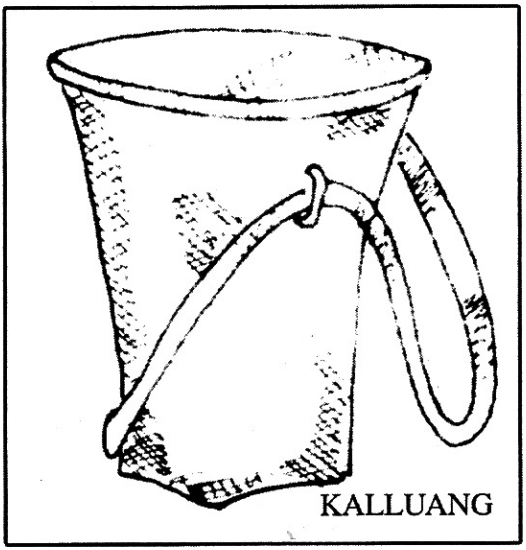
The above mentioned clothes and dresses are not used in abundance. The males use dresses mostly pruchasing from the markets. The females are also using Saree, Blause etc. made by modern textiles. But recently it is found that the educators have been

trying to retain their traditional dresses and most of them have been using the cloths as weaved by the loin looms.

BAMBOO WORKS : A Chakma starts his life in a cradle (dhulon) of bamboo and ends in a coffing (radha-ghar) of bamboo. Obviously, the bamboo holes an important role in the entrire lifehood of a Chakma. He builds his but with the bamboo, uses bamboo utensils and equipments, worships the symbolised folk duties made of bamboo, burns dried bamboo as fuel, uses bamboo torches and eats bamboo pickles as the favourite foods. In fact, bamboo is the most inevitable object to his life that his daily life can not be thought of without bamboo.

Although, the bamboo meets the various needs of a Chakma folk-life, but it also helps him to expose his artistic craftmanship by making of multifarious items of baskets and othe implements. In this regards, it is worth mentioning that the art of basketry, to which the Chakmas are remarkable expart, is a task reserved exclusively fo the male only. The women - folk keep them quite abstain from this task due to traditional taboos. It is also an important fact that there is no professional basket makers or traditional artisans among them, but almost all physically able persons of the society have produce baskets for their own domestic requirements. These are some items of bamboo made articles, like basketry and fishing traps mentioned below :-

1. Kalluang - A basket made of bamboo strips for carrying paddy and other goods.



KALLUANG

2. Pullyang - A miniature form of kalluang used for carrying paddy, vegetable and other goods.

3. Kurum - A small sized basket made of bamboo strips and used for sowing paddy seeds in jhum field.

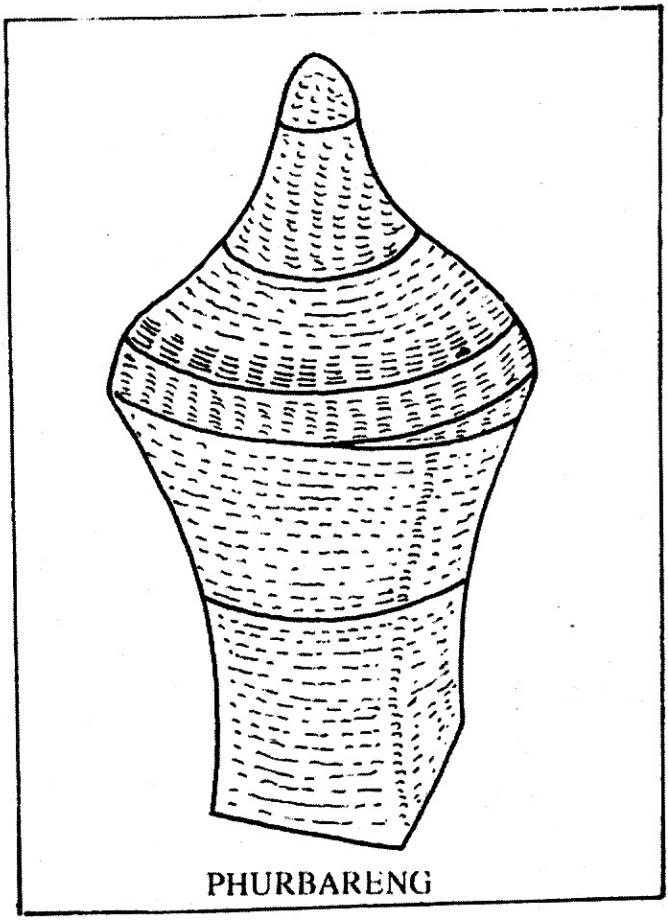
4. Dingira - A same type of basket but larger than the kalluang in hight and size. It is used for storing and carrying paddy.

5. Bareng - A large sized and long-edged

basket used for storing food grains.

6. Dul - It is a more larger basket than the Bareng made of thick bamboo strips and used for the same purpose.

7. Fur-Bareng - A medium sized, diagramatically woven and most decorated basket



PHURBARENG

having its four stands and a lid. It is used for keeping metal ornaments, valuable cloths and other preservable goods.

8. Chhammu - A shall sized and box shaped basket which is also artistically woven and having its a lid. It is used for keeping the small types of ornaments like bangle, bracelets, rings etc.

9. Pidhya-pullyang - It is a small basket same as Pullyang mentioned earlier, but well-textured and decorated. It is used during marriage procession with full of 'Pidhya' (cakes) and other edible things in it.

10. Pan-Vera - A well-woven, square-sized small basket having four stands in its four conners which is made of cane and bamboo. It is used for offering betel-nut to the guest.

11. Kullo - It is a bamboo made round shaped tray used for winnowing works.

12. Challon - It is same as kulla but woven in netting system.

13. Pakkon - A coni-formed basket used for filtering liquid things.

14. Dhulon A cradle.

15. Toloi - A mat made of bamboo strips and used for drying the paddy in sunshine.

16. Tibit - A mat used in sleeping bed.

17. Bizon - A bamboo made fan.

18. Mejang - A bamboo made low-highted small table used for keeping the plate of foods during taking meal. It is woven in netting system.

19. Lui - One kind of bamboo scoop used in catching fish.

20. Khacchyang - A basket used for carrying of fire wood. It is also woven in netting system.

21. Hlei - A well-woven round-shaped basket used for keeping rice.

22. Khaja - A bamboo made container used for keeping vegetable seeds and other goods.

23. Kum-dhagoni - A lid of pitcher made of bamboo strips.

24. Dullo - A pitcher-shaped basket having a 'Padar' (penetrating point) as a lid. It is used for keeping hunting fish.

25. Jumur - An umbrella made of bamboo strips and bamboo leaves used as the cap to save the body from rain.

26. Jhaga - A flat container or a wicker work.

27. Pinjuro - A cage.

28. Kuro-khaja - A cage for carrrying the fowls.

29. Bach-Funi - A comb made of theny bamboo splints.

30. Ijya-muji/Ijya-Dub - It is a funnel-shaped fishing trap made of bamboo strips having 'Padar' (penetrating point) in its last end.

31. Chei - It is a funnel - shaped fishing trap made of bamboo sticks and cane. It has two pockets in its two opposite sides through which the fish can enter easily from two opposite

direction, but unable to come out again.

32. Dub : It is also funnel-shaped fishing trap, but more larger than the chei. It has one 'Padar' (panetrating point) in its last end.

WOOD WORKS :

Handi Craft Occupies the most important part of a tribal folk-life. Every mankind have their own artistic ideas and ability. The Chakmas also have their particular artistic ability and creativity. This artistic ability and creativity reveals in making wood works by them. Figuring of Buddha statue on wood is the mark of their artistic skillness and full of aptitude. In the religious point of view the Chakmas are mostly devoted to Buddhism. So wood work on the theme of life of the Chakma. Wooden alter is made of by them to place the statue of Lord Buddha on it.

Boat making shows another skillness of the Chakmas. They make various kinds of the boats for their different types of day-to-day works. These boats are made of different types of woods, palm trees etc. They use boats for transporation and to carry goods from one place to another. For fishing lines boats are commonly used.

Wooden dishes, Wooden spoons, Wooden tubs, Wooden KHARAM (Sandal), wooden comb, wooden plough are also made of by them. Besides these they are apt of making day-to-day necessaries with various types of woods are available in the rich dense forests of Tripura.

LIME MANUFACTURING :

We know that the Chakmas men and women are very fond of chewing betel nut and betel leaf of which lime is essential ingridient. They know the process of lime manufacturing. Lime is mainly derived from lime stone under some process. This kind of lime is called mineral lime. They use another kind of lime getting from the shells of snails and cockles by ways of some indigenous process and this kind of lime is called SIBIDI or shell-lime. Lime has been using by them from ancient times for constructing brick-built houses. Lime is used for making cement. It is also used by them to melt iron for making weapons and house hold articles. Lime is used by them as medicine. Lime is also used for dyeing purpose.

BOAT MAKING CRAFT :

The Chakmas are efficient in making boats by the wood. This shows another remarkable skillness of them. There are many kinds of boats which they make. Among the various kinds of boat CONGDANAW, GOIRANAW, DINGINAW,

BAGANAW are the main.

(i) CONGDANAW - This is made by a single steam of a tree. This kind of boat was used in the warfare in the water.

(2) GOIRANAW - Goiranaw is made from the planks of a big tree. The planks are joined skilfully.

(3) DINGINAW : It is made from the planks of the tree. It is bigger in size. This kind of boat contains a roof to sit under it for protecting from the sun and the rain.

(4) BAGANAW : This kind of boat is made from the single steam of a big tree. It is used for tranportational purpose of the passengers.

SALT MANUFACTURING.

The Chakma - folk are abled to manufacture salt for their consumption in their daily life. They make the salt from the water point of the river source where they install a wood and bamboo made indigenous machine for manufacturing the salt. It is mentionable that some tribes of the North-Eastern Region also manufacture salt for themselves by their own method which resembles the process of the Chakmas.

GUN POWDER MANUFACTURING :

From long ago the Chakmas invented gun powder by their own process. It is said that the credit goes to the Chinese to invent gun powder at first. In later period the Burmese and the people of other countries learnt the process of making gun powder from the Chinese. The scholars are in opinion that gun powder was made in Europe after long years from the time of invention of gun powder by the Chinese. Probably the Chakmas learnt the techniques of making gun powder from the Burmese and this was happened at the time of their living in Burma or Arakan regions. But so far information is available the iron work was rare in the Chakma society. At recent times some Chakma take this craft of iron work for their livelihood but we can guess that this trade of work was not in vougue among the Chakmas in ancient times.

For this reason the Chakmas procured guns from the Burmese for hunting and to use in warfare against the enemies. We know that the Chakmas had a negligible quantity of guns during the war between the Chakmas and the British in 1877-87. The Chakmas mostly fought with their indegenous weapons like bows and arrows, swords, spears etc. It is opted that they learnt the techniques of making gun powder from the Burmese. It is necessary to mention here that the ingridients of gun powder are sulfer, saltpeter etc. which they would collect from Bengal . At the first battle of Panipath in 1526 the Mughals at first used gun powder against their enemies . Later on the Chakmas might have collected

gun powder from the Mughals also. It is mentioned in the history of the Chakmas that the Chakmas gallantly fought against the Mughals and captured two big cannons named KALU KHAN and FATEH KHAN. This shows the valour of the Chakmas might have in the warfare and supports their knowledge of using gun powder in the warfare against the enemies.

Jewellery :

Women - folk of the Chakmas are very much fond of adoring themselves with ornaments made of gold, silver and beads. Ivory and bone of animals are also used to jewels. Chakmas women commonly use bangles, armlets, necklaces and ear rings big and chunky. At present times the women-folk make beautiful garlands of flowers to beautify themselves. They use beautiful flowers as a substitute of costly ornaments.

The original terminological words of the Chakmas ornaments are Andhik, Halchara, Kajaful, Rajjur, Tajjur, Baghu, Sonanach, Hajuli, Bangari, Pijichara, Charang, Jara-Andhik, Thengat Kharu , Kanful, Jhomboli etc.

(A) KANFUL : This is an ornament to beautify the ears. The Bengalee women also wear such type of ornament which they call MAKRI. Chakma Kanful is generally of three types. They are KAJAFUL, RAJJUR and JHOMBOLI.

(B) HAL CHARA : It is a necklace type Ornament. It is a favourite ornament to the women.

(C) TAJJUR : It is an armlet type Ornament.

(D) NAK PHUL : Nose Ornaments.

(E) BALA BANGURI : Wrist Ornament.

(F) THENGAT KHARU : Ankle Ornament.

(G) THENKA CHARA : Necklace with coins (Silver).

Chapter - V

SOCIAL LIFE

MARRIAGE :

In the Chakma society two system of marriage are in vogue. One system is based on religious system of marriage and usually is followed by the advanced section of people of the society. This marriage is performed by the Buddhist BHIKSUS in accordance with the religious tenets.

The another system of marriage is traditional which performed by the village ojhas. This marriage system is as followed. The age of marriage is between 15 to 16 and 22 to 24 generally for females and males. The early marriage before attaining the age of 18 years has been restricting by the government as it brings curse to the society and death of the pre-matured mothers often takes place. Girls are not given marriage before attaining maturity. They are to attain at the age of puberty. The child marriage is rare in the society of the Chakmas. When a young man attains a marriageable age of 20 to 22 years his parents began to search for finding a suitable bride. When this is found out a relative of the male family would be sent to the house of the bride. A day will be fixed up after a favourable discussion both the families of the male and the female. The parents of the bridegroom would go to the bride's house taking a bottle of wine with them. The parents will sleep in the house of the bride. Some days after the parents of

the bridegroom will pay another visit to the house of the bride taking with them a bottle of wine and rice cakes.

A third visit would be paid by the parents of the bridgegroom after some days. This time they would bring with them wine, rice cakes and other foods. Marriage topics will be discussed throughly this time and after full discussions having made a final date for marrige would be fixed up. The party of the bridegroom will take with them presents, clothes and jewellery on the preceeding day of marriage. The party will march to the strains of festive music to the house of the bride. The bride is dressed with these new clotes and ornaments as brought by the bridegroom's party. The whole night passes with full festive mood. Having finished morning meals in the next day the party of the bridegroom escort the bride to the house of the bride-groom. In the ancient days PIDHYA PULLYANG was used carry the ornaments and other essential articles of the bride. PIDHYA PULLYANG is nicely decorated basket made of bamboo with lid. Now in the age of modernism PIDHYA PULLYANG is replaced by suitcase and brief case etc. Adequate arrangements are taken to give reception of the bride at the gate by the youths and adolescent girls. The bride is received by the mother-in-law with blessings and utterings of blessing words for the welfare of the bride and she is kept in a room meant for her. In the evening in the bridegroom's house takes place the actual ceremony. The bride and bridegroom are dressed sitting in a

wedding dias of a room. The new couple is made to sit together. The bride is setted to the left side of the groom. With the permission of the attending elders a male and a female bind the new conple with a white cloth. The bride has to place cooked rice, boiled egg and betel leaf and nuts in a prepared pan in the mouth of the bride-groom. The bridegroom has to repeat the same act to the mouth of the bride. After this the white cloth is loosened and the newly coupled is declared married publicly.

As a part of the marriage ceremony a fowl is killed and its tunge is taken out to find out certain marks for prediction regarding the marriage. These are the matters to be known whether the congugal life of the newly coupled would be happier or not and is known the numbers of the children the couple will beget and to know the first child would be a male or female. The parents of the newly coupled would dream to know the joys and sufferings of the newly married life of the bride and the bridegroom.

Widow marriage in the Chakma society is permissible. On the death of her husband the widow has to leave out ornaments and wear mourning apparel. This is called RANI. When the widow is again remarried then she is permitted to use ornaments again. A Chakma man who has been prolonged suffering from fatal diseases and impotency can be deserted easily by his wife. Women has no right to the property of her father. Only of there remains no male member of the family of her father

then only the property can be claimed by the daughter. If there remains no heir then the property goes to the next kin of the dead. If a married Chakma conple is found in indulging illicit connection with others he or she would be heavily taxed for this illicit manner. The husband is compelled to give alimony to the wife if she is left without sufficient reason.

Disposal of the dead :

The dead body is wrapped in a white cloth and kept out side of the house. The Chakmas cremate the dead body and is followed by a communal feast. If a death comes in economical hard days usually the dead is buried till the better days come at the time of harvest. The earlier buried dead body is disinterred for cremation by performing last rites generally followed by communal feast. In the society it is customary practiced to keep a dead body over a tree for the time being until the nearest relative like son, brother or any accepted relative comes for cremation. Inside the grave the head of a male dead body is placed in the east direction and in case of a female dead body then the head would be placed in the west direction. After cremation of the dead body some close relatives would go to the cremation ground on the following morning to find out foot prints as left behind by the departed person. The foot prints as left behind by the departed person. The foot indecates rebirth of the dead. Chakmas are staunch believers of re-birth as followers of Lord Buddha. The stories of

the JATAKAS are very famous to them. Nearest relative of the deceased assembled in the cremation ground at day break to collect seven selected bones. These are kept in an earthen pot for immersing these all into the water of the river after performing some rituals by uttering some mantras from the holy book AGARTARA. The sons of the dead shall have to shave off their heads before returning home. Last ritual is generally performed on the seventh day conducted by the Vhikshus. Relatives participate at the ritual ceremoney. A communal feast is arranged in memory to the departed soul. The dead body of a rich person is taken out ceremoniously on a chariot before cremation. This ceremony is known as Rath Tana.

Social position of Chakma women :

Literacy among the Chakma women is not high. Now-a-days the need of education for all is considered essential and the young Chakma girls are attending schools and colleges at a large numbers. Female education is valued. Chakma women are supposed to do weaving, cooking, rearing of the children and house keeping works. They engage themselves in cultivation and marketing. The social status of a Chakma women is not equal with the male one. Polygamy is allowed to a Chakma male. Some prevailling proverbs will prove the social position of a Chakma women in the society. (A) "A man with one wife can have meal in time. If has two he will get it

late and has three he will not get at all" (B) " A divorced wife can not be accepted again as she is useless as bad as broken oar floating in the river". (C) "It is better to have blind wife than none and in her absense even the costly princess also is desireable."

THE CHAKMA JUDICIARY SYSTEM A N D THEIR SYSTEM OF THE RIGHT OF SUCCESSION:

From in memorable times the Chakma society of people have been settling up their social disputes and trials, marriages, funeral ceremonies and rituals, right of succession, roguery and theft, simple social offences and light incidents purely on the basis of their own system. It is superfluous to mention here that the Chakma king himself only was the pivot of all social systems in the process of the Chakma judiciary system from ancient times. In the court of the king only would all referred disputes in regards to the Chakma judiciary system and customary laws be finalised. This system was prevalent in the British regime in India also. The British paramountcy controlled over Chittagong Hill Tracts but in spite of the controlling authority of the British power, the Chakma King exercised all powers and prerogatives in respect of social justice and customary laws of the Chakmas.

The Chakmas who came and settled down in Tripura have been scrupulously following their age-

old social customs and customary laws for mitigating disputes in respect of Social justice, disputes and trials, marriages, funceral ceremonies and rituals, right of succession roguery and stealth, simple social offences and other trifling incidents, etc. Historical facts affirm that the Chakmas have been living in Tripura for atleast two centuries past and they do have certainly a different type of judiciary system apart form their Fundamental Social and Customary Laws. Reference in this context may be cited that in the regimes of the Chakma Kings the village level disputes under Social Judiciary System were dealt with by the KARBARIS but in the British Rule this was dealt with by the headman of the village with a view to solving disputes in the villages at the primary stage. If these disputes could no be mibigated at the village level then they would be transferred to the courts of KHISA, TALUKDAR or DEWAN. If the disputes could not be solved or compromised in the courts of KSHISA, TALUKDAR and DEWAN also then this case would be transferred to the court of the king for delivering his final words or verdicts. But for the Chakma people of Tripura in dispute at the primary stage was solved at the village level. If it could not be mitigated there then the dispute would be transferred to the court of the Regional Social Panchayet. If the dispute could not be mitigated there also then it would be referred to the court of the SOLA-ANI Social Panchayet. Considering easy communication facilities the whole Chakma settlement areas are kept under four SOLA-ANI

Panchayets. There are four number of SOLA-ANI Panchayet functing all over the Tripura state from the Pre-independance times of Tripura. These are (A) Deovelley, (B) Manuvelley, (C) Gomati velley and (D) Feni velley SOLA-ANI Panchayets.

Briefly Chakma Social Judiciary System can be shown as follows :-

Village Chakma Social Panchayet,

Regional Chakma Social Panchayet,

SOLA-ANI Chakma Social Panchayet.

In the period of the Chakma Kings these were as below:-

Chakma Karbari Court

Talukdar, Khisa and Dewan Court

Chakma King Court.

FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF THE CHAKMA SOCIAL SYSTEM :-

Basically the social system of the Chakmas is patriarchal. So in some spheres , specially in the sphere of female rights the outlook to some extent was conservative. The root of this social system

originated from the way of life of the Chakmas by JHUM cultivation. As a result the fundamental conception of the social system of the Chakmas originated form the was of life of JHUM cultivation. But in the later period the Chakmas started the permanent cultivation and as a result of this system of cultivation it became necessary to change their traditional system of cultivation which transmitted from generation to generation. So it has been seen presently that the system of cultivation which originated and continued form one hundred fifty to two hundred years ago has taken some changes in course of passing of years. But in spite of some change it can be seen some concepts of Chakma social system remain even unchanged in the system of present days also. These can be found in the marriage system of the Chakma society. Social customs and manners, Divorce system the system of succession etc. and these get affirmation from all classes of the Chakma society. It is needless to say that in modern times also the Chakmas of the whole Tripura capable to preserve the aforesaid social judiciary and customary laws as received from their ancestors.

The cultural heritage of the Chakma social judiciary system and manners were not written so long. The authority of the present Autonomous district Council proposed to frame the social system and customary laws of the Tribals of Tripura. For this reason the social leaders and intellectual group from Chakma society coming from different parts of

Tripura assembled themselves with a view to framing the prevailing judiciary and customary laws of the Chakma people of Tripura. In this respect the renowned representatives took the book of Sreejut Bankim Dewan under tittle "CHAKMA JATIR ICHAR PADHATI O CHAKMA UTTARADHIKAR PRATHA" published from Hilly Chittagong in 1986. lastly it is necessary to say that the traditional laws and customs can never be perpetual or rigid. According to the need of the agenda for betterment of the customary laws may have to alter partly or to add or substrate to some clauses of the traditional Chakma social judiciary laws or the customary laws in the fields of thinking and conception that developed and improved by the light of having modern educational system for analysing and synthesising their social and customary laws.

CHAKMA SOCIAL CUSTOMARY LAWS :- MARRIAGE SYSTEM.

(A) LEGAL MARRIAGE :- Customarily the marriage is celebrated after offering homage to CHUMULANG conducted by AJA.

(2) The worship of SIJI-JADAN is done in the house of the bride and the worship of CHUMLANG is celebrated in the house of the bridegroom.

(3) If the bride and the bridegroom born of the same generational status then only the marriage

ceremony is permitted. But marriage can not be performed if the bride and the bridegroom belong to the same clan (GUTHI) through they belong to the same generation.

(4) Marriage is permitted between a Chakma youth male and female outside of their clan relation.

(5) Marriage is permitted is between the children of the brother and sister born of the same mother but marriage is ..... between ..... of such parentage as exists between two dired brother.

(6) Marriage is permitted between the son or daughter with the daughter or son of the sisters born of the same mother's womb.

(7) Marriage is allowed in different GOZA or GUTTHI provided they are equal in respect of status.

(8) Marriage is allowed between the sister of the elder brother's wife with the younger brother born of the same mother's womb.

(9) Marriage is permitted between the elder or younger brother and the sister of the wife.

(10) Matrimonial relations are permitted between the elder brothers or young brothers of heterogeneous relations and the cousin sisters of the husband.

(11) Polygamy is allowed in the society of Chakma.

(12) Marriage is permitted with the sister-in-law i.e. the younger sister of the wife.

(13) A widower male and a widowed female can be married together.

(14) A divorced man and a divorced women can marry again. To marry again age becomes no bar.

(15) A widower or a divorced wife of the elder brother can marry again. For this the limitation of age does not remain.

(16) The system of marriage is permitted between the widow or divorced wife of the elder brother and the younger brother of the husband.

(17) If the wife of the younger brother or the elder brother is widowed of if she is divorced then only she is to be married.

(18) Marriage is allowed between the sons and daughters of the wife's former husband and the daughters and sons of the wife's later husband provided they do not belong to the same clan or lineage.

(19) If there remains no close relation or if the bridegroom and the bride do not belong to the same

clan then marriage is allowed between the grand father and the grand daughter or between the grand daughter and the grand father.

(20) Marriage is settled in the Chakma society on the basis of reciprocal conversations and of exchange of opinions.

(21) Marriage is held on giving bride price or DAVA as settled on the ceremonial conversations and exchange of opinion in between the legal guardians of both the sides of the bride and the bridegroom.

(22) Marriage cannot be rejected after having final successive discussions that led to ceremonial function TINPUR. If the rejection proposal comes from any side of the bridegroom or the bride then the proposer side have to pay the indemnity LAJBHAR by name. The LAJBHAR is determined by the concerning Panchyat.

(23) To complete the marriage ceremony and to help the newly bride and the bridegroom a SABALA is engaged at the time of the marriage. He is generally engaged grom the husband of the sister of the bridegroom or the bride. A SABALA may be choiced from the friends of the bridegroom or the bride.

(24) When the date of the wedding ceremony is fixed up then an authorised person called SHALIKYA

is sent by the guardians of the bridegroom to the house of the bride. This SHALIKYA, the authorised man, has the power to bring nearer the wedding date or the wedding date may be pushed back on considerations of the situations of grave matters relating to the house of the bride.

(25) It is necessary to obtain permission to carry on the wedding ceremony from the social leaders attending at the wedding prior to each and every wedding formality on the date of the nuptails.

(26) It is considered a social offence when a man after his marriage does not give a social feast KHANASIRANI. The Chakma society does not take it easy when a married man does not offer a feast or at least offering of some food to his kith and kins of his society. The dead body of such an offender is carried to the funeral ground by hanging the dead-body in a position below the knee of the carriers in stead of keeping on their shoulders. By this way of carrying the dead-body the neighbours express their disrespect to such a man who asided the social custom at the time of his wedding ceremony.

(27) If a ceremonial marriage talk is initiated to a house and so long as the finding of the talk does not come out, no new formal marriage talk is allowed to start in that house. If it takes place, it is considered as an offence and for this offence a monetary punishment is given to the offender.

(28) After offering MAD-PULLYANG to the father of the bride if a reason comes on the part of the bride's father to cancell the daughter's weeding or if he becomes unable to give marry his daughter in such case on the basis of the protest as lodged by the guardian of the bridegroom all incurred expenditures from the bridegroom's side would be borne by the father of the bride on the charge of breaking the contract or proposal of the marriage ceremony. This expenditure as to be borne by the father of the bride is called LAJBHAR.

(29) After completion of the marriage ceremony the newly coupled would have to go to the house of the bride with special items of food or complementary gifts on the appointed date. At this period of visit the newly coupled can pass the night together in the house of the father of the bride. This a part of the celebration of the marriage which is called BIASUDBHANGA.

(30) Until the performance of BIASUDBHANGA is over the newly coupled is not permitted to take entrance to any house of a man. If this usage is broken than the coupled has to bear all expenditure for the worship of BURPARA as to arrange of worshiping specially at the house of the man.

(31) For worship CHUMULANG a social custom prevails for using wine and flesh of the swine as offerings for the PUJA. As an alternative of wine

some OJHAS (exorcists) perform the marriage ceremony by flowers. The using of flowers in lieu of wine is a customary in the Chakma society also.

MARRIAGE IS NOT APPROVED FOR SUCH ILLEGAL RELATIONS :

(01) A marriage is not approved for unequal generation.

(02) Marriage can not be approved between the brother and the sister born in the same womb of the mother.

(03) Marriage cannot be approved in the same GUTHI or clan that is in the same blood flow of the partriarchical concept downwards to seven generations.

(04) Marriage is not allowed between the different relations of uncle and the niece. Example goes - (a) Marriage is not allowed between the daughter of the elder brother and the younger brother born in the same mother's womb. (b) Marriage cannot be held between the daughter of the step brother and the younger step brother. (c) Marriage cannot be held between the relation of uncle and the niece in spite of having born in downward several generations bearing the same GUTHI or clan. (d) In spite of having different clans with the prevailling relations in the son of the sister of the father or the son of the sister

of the mother or the son of the maternal uncle then the marriage cannot be held between a younger brother and the daughter of any elder brother. (e) Marriage cannot be held in between LABAYS-WAJAN that is in between the relation of the brother of the husband of the elder sister and the daughter of the husband of the younger sister.

(05) Marriage cannot be allowed between the sister of the father and the son of the brother. This for and near relations can be as follows :

(a) Marriage cannot be allowed between the sister born in the same mother's womb and the son of the brother.

(b) Marriage cannot allowed between the step sister and the son.

(c) In spite of coming down in several generation from the same GUTHI or clan marriage is not allowed between the sister of the father and the son of the brother.

(d) The son of the sister of the father, the son of the sister of the mother, the son of the maternal uncle etc. such kind of relative brothers and sisters cannot be allowed to be married though they do not belong to the same GUTHI.

(e) Marriage is not allowedin the relation of LABAY-

SWAJAN that is marriage cannot be held between the daughter of the sister's husband and the son of another sister's husband.

(f) Marriage cannot be held between the daughter of the father-in-law of the sister and the son of the brother of the aforesaid sister.

(06) Marriage is prohibited between the maternal uncle and the daughter of the sister. This kind of relation may be of various types such as : maternal uncle brother of the sister born in hte mother's same womb, step brother, son of the younger brother of the father, son of the elder brother of the father, son of the sister of the mother, son of the sister of the father, son of the maternal uncle.

(07) Marriage cannot be held between the sister of the mother and the son of the sister. A cousin sister of one's mother may be of various kinds such as, mother's sisters or her step sisters or cousin sisters younger in age to the mother or a descendent from a sister or a cousin sister of one's mother or mother-in-law etc.

(08) The wife of the one's father's younger brother, the wife of one's elder brother's of the father, the wife of one's mother's brother -such unequal relative women whether they are widowed or divorced, marriage is restricted with them.

(09) To marry the step mother is prohibited.

(10) Marriage is restricted with the wife of the son of one's brother or the wife of one's sister's son whether they are widowed or divorced.

(11) Marriage is prohibited to the daughter of the wife who gave birth to the child as born of her former husband's sexual intercourse though the daughter got the legal document of her divorced.

(12) Marriage with the widow of the brother is prohibited though she possessed the legal document of divorced.

(13) To marry the elder sister in age to the wife is strictly prohibited. Even to touch her is considered a crime. For breaching of such kind of offence, monetory punishment may be given to the offender.

THE SYSTEM OF DIVORCE :

(1) In the case of mental unadjustment comes between the legal husband and the wife then the system of divorce is to be approved. In this case the husband's SURKAGAJ or the divorce paper alongwith several signatures of witnesses is to sent to the wife and the system of divorce is executed or approved.

(2) Divorce is approved on the basis of affirmity of the fact that the husband and the wife are incapable of sexual inter-course.

(3) If the husband is attacked with liprosy or any serious disease then divorce is approved.

(4) If it is proved that the bride is tortured by her mother-in-law, in such case the father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to enter into a recognizance that they would not do such offence in future. If the position is not improved then in special cases the husband is ordered to live seperately with the wife aloofing from the father and the mother of him by seperating his kitchen. If such systems become failure then order is given for seperation of the wife and the husband.

(5) A divorce order is given for beating the wife without reasons.

(6) If one is sentenced for long term of imprisonment and in such case if the wife prays for seperation then the divorce is allowed for giving her facility to marry again to take the second husband.

(7) If any one gives up house hold living and takes the living of a saint then in accordance with the prayer of the wife the order of divorce is given.

(8) Order is given to the husband to take his wife to the house if the wife takes shelter in the Headman's house as a tortured women by the husband and in such case the husband has to furnish a bond. If such kind of incident is happened again then the wife is

kept in a house of the legal guardian or the leader of the Society. After this if the character of the husband is not improved then the paper of divorce called CHHUR-KAGAJ is given.

(9) If the husband or his residence of living is not traced for three years or more then the Society can give order to the wife to re-marry.

(10) At the time of divorce the father possesses the right for having the children to be kept under his supervision or guidance.

(11) After the death of the husband if the wife intends to re-marry then the possession of the children would go to the care of the elder or younger brother of the husband or to any near relative of the deceased husband.

(12) At the time of divorce the husband can place his demand for the child of his pragnant wife after giving the birth in course of time. In this case the husband has to bear all kinds of expenditure that would be incurred for nurshing, fooding etc. inclusive expenditure of the birthal ceremony of the child.

(13) The father can demand the right of the illegitimate son. But the father of the child has to bear all expenditure for nurshing, fooding etc. of the child.

(14) If the social judiciary body gives the divorce order to the husband and the wife then in regards to this case the husband is freed from execution of SURKAGAS.

(15) If the divorced case is based on the fault of the husband, then the husband has to give back all articles as received as dowery, presentational clothes and ornaments etc. as received at the time of the wedding and these all articles are to give back to the wife.

(16) When the divorce is happened, the husband and the wife can be married again according to their choice and for this second marriage no limitation of time exists.

(17) If once separation of marriage-cauple is made and after this seperation the seperated couple can express their reunion and in such case they are to be remarried after performing the CHUMULANG ritual alongwith giving of social feast to be followed after the marriage.

ILLICIT MARRIAGE AND COQUETRY OR SEXUAL OFFENCE :

(1) After marriage on judgement of equal generation if a couple is proved on logical grounds illicit, the imposition of seperation upon the couple is made . And punishment is given to both of them for

living as a couple on charge of Conquety.

(2) Monetary punishment is given to the two fathers of the bride and the bridegroom for helping the marriage. The initiator and helpers of the marriage are also punished considering their offence is equal as offence of the couple.

(3) As a helper of the illegal marriage the priest OJHA is also considered guilty and monetary punishment is imposed upon him also.

(4) Both the offenders, a woman whether married or unmarried and a man whether married or unmarried, are punished on the charges of secret love and illegal copulation in between them.

(5) In such incident a light punishment is given to the unmarried one and the arrangement of heavy punishment is given to the married one.

(6) If an unmarried woman or a widowed woman becomes pregnant such case is carried to the court of the judiciary of Chakma Social System for trial on the charge of conquetry. In such case both the female and the male are punished.

(7) If the responsibility could not be fixed up on any one for initiation of the pregnency then the accused woman only is given punishment for committing such Sexuality.

(8) For illicit pregnency if a man is accused but the charge could not be proved later on, in such incident the accuser is to pay LAJBHAR for bringing false charge against the man.

(9) If a man or a female brings a charge of any kind against a male or female and if the charge could not be proved in the social Chakma Judiciary Court, in such case of imposing false charge upon any one the bringer of the charge is to pay the LAJBHAR.

(10) If an unmarried youth male and an unmarried youth female go away together willingly to be married, and afterwards whether they become married or not, they are accused of illegal congugal life for the charge of leading illegal Sexuality.

(11) If the father of the female is unwilling to the marriage, then such kind of wedding can not be taken place. The social usage is to return the female to her father. In such way the father of the escaped female can bring charge against the escaped couple in the Social Judiciary court for taking necessary steps to bring back of his daughter. If the couple escaped for the fourth time then the couple is given permission to be married by the Social Court.

(12) As regards the eloped couple if there remains no bar of equal generation then wedding of the couple can be held with the consent of the father.

(13) If the couple possesses the relation of

GARBA-KUDUM i.e. restriction for metrimonial relation then marriage is not to be held in no circumstances.

(14) The bastard child is sheltered in the Society.

(15) The eloped couple bearing illicit relation when goes in disguise or during the proceedings of the case if a child takes birth of the couple, the child having in care of the mother get shelter in the Society.

(16) If it is proved that more than one man is linked with the woman in coquetry then each of the male along with the woman are punished equally as determined by the Society.

(17) Unfair and disrespectable manners with GARBA-KUDUM draws punishment by the Society to the wrong doer.

(18) The helper of the escaped couple is given punishment irrespective of male or female helper.

(19) After the execution of divorce decree the seperated husband and the wife will be punished provided they did execute of the CHUMULANG performace.

(20) It is socially restricted to touch the wife of the son , the wife of the younger brother and the elder sister of the wife. Commiting such an offence of touching is punished on the charge on monetary

punishment, asiding beating the female by the offender.

SOCIAL PUNISHMENT ON THE CHARGE VEGINALITY:

(1) For commiting sexual offence the order is given to both of the male and the female offender to pay monetary punishment as fixed by the court alongwith a swine on the part of the male and a hen on the part of the female.

(2) The guilty man and the woman are accused of these two offences for keeping sexual relation with GARBA-KUDUM and keeping veginal relation with restricted. And of committing such kind of offences they are sometimes given seperate punishment.

(3) The punished man or woman for offencing with GARBA-KUDUM on the charge of veginal relation is driven away from the society so long as the offender executes the punishment. In this period social performance with them is prohibited. This is called PATER BAR.

(4) If the monetary punishment as imposed by the social judiciary system is not realised by means of negotiation, the system of taking help from the local administration or from the police is in vogue. In this process the accused person's movable or immoveable property is to be sold by auction and from this arising money the imposed money is released.

(5) Before releasing the imposed punishment money as decreed by the social judicial court if the accused person goes away from the village or from his place of residence and takes shelter to any other village, in such case the requests from the SOLA-ANI PANCHAYET are conveyed to the social Panchayet of the village in which the offender takes shelter requesting the Panchayet not to extend any help to the offender.

PROCEDURE FOR LODGING COMPLAINTS A N D PROCESS OF GIVING PUNISHMENT

(1) To lodge a complaint against any one, the complaint has to present money as was fixed by the Social Panchayet formerly alongwith a bottle of wine to the KARBARI. When the KARBARI takes the complaint, the date of the social trial is informed to the complainant and the accused person including all houses holders. And on the appointed date the Social Panchayet judge the complaint in presence of all the adults.

(2) The meeting of the trial generally takes place in the premises of the KARBARI. If necessary arises the trial meeting may be held at any house of the village.

(3) If the accused does not present himself at the trial meeting on any fiscal ground or if the accused

sends an information regarding the reason of his remaining absense at the meeting, in such circumstance the social trial meeting under the guidance of the KARBARI consider all the arising facts of absenting offender of the accused person and if the social trial meeting is not satisfied with the circumstances then a nominated person is sent by the meeting to fetch the accused. This nominated person is called PALLAN. The accused person is compelled to be present in the meeting. If the accused does not come to the trial meeting in spite of sending the PALLAN, then some more men are sent from the meeting as PALLAN to fetch him. If they fail to bring him at the meeting then the accused person is boycotted from all social functions.

(4) Before commencement of the judgement if the accused person appeals himself or by his authorised person to the KARBARI to alter the judgement date on reasonable grounds and if the KARBARI becomes satisfied on the shown grounds, the judgement date is changed.

(5) Both the complainant and the defendant can present a lawyer for each for conducting the trial with prior permission of the KARBARI to plead on their side. This defender lawyer can be taken even from residers of other Social Panchyets. This system of appointing a lawyer is also applicable to Regional and SOLA - ANI Panchayets.

(6) A convicted person can demand extension of time for paying fines.

(7) If a convicted person is incapable of paying fines or incapable of paying fines with in the scheduled time, the court may demand a bailsman who agrees to pay the punishment within the fixed time in favour of the accused.

(8) If the accused person did not present at the court or did not obey to pay the punished money and escaped from the village and took shelter in any other village, in such case a request is sent by the Regional Panchayet or the SOLA-ANI Panchayet for arguing not be give shelter the fled person.

(9) When the village Panchayet cannot solve a judgement, then the case is sent to the higher Regional Panchayet. On the contrary the complainant or the defender when is not satisfied on the judgement of the lower court, the judgement of the higher court cand be demanded. If the Regional Panchayet takes the case for judgement, the trial may run in the Regional Panchyet.

(10) For judgement the case for commiting sexual offence by the female and the male, and if the offender female and the male live in different villages in this position the judgement is hold at the house of the KARBARI of the village whether the offender female resides.

(11) The KARBARI get a portion of the punishment money as an incurred expenditure for the judgement. The rest portion of the punishment money will be distributed equally among all attending adults in the judgement.

(12) If any one disregards the court on motion, the accused is fined on money. If any one rebukes unnecessarily to any one or exchange hot words with others or shows any ill manners or leaves the place of judgement without taking permission, the person is accused.

THE LAWS OF INHERITANCE :

(1) In accordance with the social custom the sons only are legel heir of the father. But, in this modern time the daughters are also considered legal heir.

(2) After the death of the father the sons get the possession of the father's property.

(3) The sons of the deceased man get the equal share of the father's property.

(4) If a son dies before his father, the sons of the deceased man get their father's share of the property after the death of their grand father i.e. the father of the father of the sons and they can share the property as received equally among them.

(5) If a son goes on seperation from his father and takes his meal in a separate kitchen, in such case after the death of the father the son legally inherits the property of his father equally with his other brothers.

(6) The widow cannot get the share of the property of her disceased husband. But if she does not marry again then she is elligible to get her fooding and clothing from the property of her dead husband.

(7) A mad or a prolonged sick man can eligible to get equal share of the property with his brothers.

(8) If the deceased man is issueless, in such case his widow is eligible to get the property of her husband. The other wives, if any, of the deceased man will also be equally entitled to the property of their husband.

(9) If a man dies without having a son, then the daughters will be heir of the property.

(10) The postmous child will get the paternal property.

(11) If any one dies unmarried, the brothers of the dead are eligible to the property of the dead brother.

(12) If any one dies unmarried, the brothers and sisters of the dead get equal share of the property of

the dead brother.

(13) The illegitimate son is not considered to get the property.

(14) The abandoned son does not get the share of the property.

(15) The property of the deceased woman will go to the children of her own.

(16) Any man can give a part or whole of his property to any one in his life time for ever as gift.

(17) Any man has right to give a part of his property to his wife in his life time. In this situation the widow of the deceased man will inherit the property.

(18) Any man has right to give a portion of his property to his daughter in his life time willingly.

(19) A issueless man can take an adopted son in accordance with his choice with the consent of the parents of the child to be adopted.

(20) Any man in his life time can make a will at his choice to give a part of his property to a person or more persons.

(21) In absence of the father the minor child will be

placed in care of his mother in spite of the mother's taking a second husband.

(22) If the proper legal guardian of the minor male or female is not available and in such situation the property tends to be misappropriated, then a trusteeship is formed with three to five members including the chief of the village to take care of the property.

(23) After the death of the father of the minor child, mother of the minor child is appointed as the legal guardian of the child.

(24) After the death of the father if one of the heirs becomes adult, in such case this adult one will be the legal guardian of the minors.

THE LAWS ON THE RITUALS :

(1) The Sraddha ceremony can be held after seven days of the death.

(2) The Sraddha ceremony is performed with the usual customs.

(3) The Sraddha ceremony can be performed by a Buddhist monk according to the Buddhist Customary laws.

THE LAWS FOR OTHER OFFENCESS :

(1) Judgement in respect of theft, village conflict, hard higgling etc, are performed in the village Social Panchayat.

(2) In the aforesaid cases a small amount of money and a bond are collected from the offender as the result of the judgement.

(3) The Village Panchyat takes the responsibility to divide the property of the father among the heirs during the life time of the father or after his death on mutual agreement of them.

MISCELLANEOUS

(1) All house holders of the village take part in the ceremony of THANMANA.

(2) All house holders' duty is to take part in the public ceremonies, to participate in the Buddhist PALA-SLYONG and to suscribe money for Buddhist functions.

THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES OF THE CHAKMAS:

(The Terms of Address mentioned only. The necessary abreviation are noted here : Fa-father, Ma-Mother, Br-Brother, Si-Sister, Wi-Wife, El-Elder, Yo-Younger, Hu-Husband etc.)

1. Fa Fa : Aju
2. Fa Ma : Nanu
3. Fa Fa Fa : Piju
4. Fa Fa Ma : Jedhei
5. Ma Fa : Aju
6. Ma Ma : Nanu
7. Fa : Bahva
8. Ma : Mahma
9. Fa El Br : Jidhu
10. Fa El Br Wi : Jedhei
11. Fa El Si : Pijhei
12. Fa Yo Br : Kakka
13. Fa Yo Br Wi : Kakki
14. Fa Yo Si : Pijhei
15. Fa El Si Hu : Pijhya
16. Fa Yo Si Hu : Pijhya
17. Ma El Br : Manu
18. Ma Yo Br : Manu
19. Ma El Br Wi : Mami
20. Ma Yo Br Wi : Mami

21. Ma El Si Hu : Moijhya

22. Ma Yo Si Hu : Moijhya

23. Hu Fa : Bahva

24. Hu Ma : Mahma

25. Wi Fa : Bahva

26. Wi Ma : Mahma

27. Hu Fa El Br : Jidhu

28. Hu Fa Yo Br : Kakka

29. Hu Fa El Br Wi : Jedhei

30. Hu Fa Yo Br Wi : Kakki

31. Hu Ma El Br : Mamu Dagi

32. Hu Ma yo Br : Mamu Dagi

33. Hu Ma El Br Wi : Mami

34. Hu Ma Yo Br Wi : Mami

35. El Br : Dahdha

36. Yo Br :Chikko/Tangya/Nagachya

37. El Si : Behvei

36. Yo Si : Chitti/Nagari

39. Hu El Br :No direct addressing for taboo/Bhejurun

40. Hu Yo Br : Diyor/Lakkha
41. Hu El Si : Behvei
42. Hu Yo Si : Nanan
43. Wi El Si : No direct addressing for taboo/Jeghattun
44. Wi Yo Si : Shali
45. Wi El Br : Dahdha/Sumundi
46. Wi Yo Br : Shala
47. Wi El Br Wi : Sumundi mok
48. Wi Yo Br Wi : Shala Mok
49. El Br Wi : Bhujhi
50. Yo Br Wi : No direct addressing for taboo/Bhei-bo
51. Hu El Br Wi : Behvei/Borjal
52. Wi El Br Wi : Bhujhi
53. Wi Yo Br Wi : Shali
55. Wi El Br So : Sumundi Puyo
56. Wi El Br Da : Sumundi Jhi
57. Wi Yo Br So : Shala puyo
58. Wi Yo Br Da : Shala Jhi

59. Hu El Si Hu	: Nanchoch neck
60. Hu Yo Si Hu	: Nanana neck
61. So	: Put/Puyo
62. Da	: Jhi
63. So So	: Nadin
64. Wi El Si So	: Moijhya
65. Wi El Si Da	: Jeghadhi Jhi
66. Wi Yo Si So	: Jidhu
67. Wi Yo Si De	: Jedhei
68. El Br Wi	: Bhujhi
69. Hu	: No direct addressing for taboo/neck
70. Wi	: No direct addressing for Taboo/mok
71. So Wi	: No direct addressing for taboo/Pudo-Bo
72. Da Hu	: Jamei
73. So Wi Fa	: Biyei
74. So Wi Ma	: Biyeni

75. Da Hu Fa : Biyei

76. Da Hu Ma : Biyeni

77. Wi Si Hu : Laboy

78. Widow : Rani/Sangyi

79. Widower : Rana/Sangya

80. Adopted son : Palak Puyo

81. Adopted Daughter : Palak Jhi

82. Any friend : Ban

83. Friend's wife : Bondoni

84. A relation in which matri monial alliance is prohi - bited : Garba-Kudum

85. Husband's Co-wife : Sudin

86. Generation : Firi/Tomba

87. Kinship relation : Ittyo-Kudum

88. A Kinship relation of genealogical blood connection : Gutthi-Kudum

89. A relation made by a good concilation : Dharma-Kudum

Chapter - VI

Religious & Cultural Life

PUJAS AND FESTIVALS OF THE CHAKMAS OF TRIPURA

We find two flowing streams in observing rituals of a nation. One of these is scriptural and the other is customary. In the scriptural sphere the rituals remain almost same in the whole society of a nation but customary rituals often change with the changing of regions or one part of land to another.

The Chakmas of Tripura are not alienated from these two streams of performing rituals. In their outer phase of the society the rituals of HINAYANI Buddhism prevails among them but in the inner phase of their society the system of worshipping in accordance with the TANTRAS of Buddhism rolls a prominent part with popular community belief and rites. Here we will discuss with the thoughts and beliefs, rituals, Pujas and festivals of the Chakmas.

The customary popular Pujas and festivals of the Chakmas may be classified into four groups. These are (1) Family based, (2) Gutthi (Clan) based, (3) Village based and (4) Public or Universal based. Here the last one, in true sense, is really a public based pujas may be treated as the community festival.

It is to be noted here that though some of the Chakms pujas or popular festvals may be originated from the ancient Buddhistic rituals and prevailling in the present Chakma society but these are observed fully in their own style and manners. In this sense these can be regarded as customary festivals. The above mentioned four groups of pujas and festivals are as follows :

(1) Family based pujas :

Name of the puja	Name of the god/goddes	Purpose
GHAR-CHUMLANG	BIYAWTRA, PARAMESHWARI, BAJAMATTI.	To achive peace and prosperity of the family.
MA-LAKKI-MA	MA LAKKI MA	For good harvesting and achiving peace and prosperity.
BUR PARA	GANGA, BIYATRA, BAJAMATTI	To purify the family and to pro-

		tect from the ghosts and evils etc.
KAJAIPANI	(GANGA)	To relief from impurity.
DHARMAKAM	BUDDHA	For prosperty and heavenly peace.

2. VILLAGE BASED PUJAS:

Name of the puja	Name of the god/goddes	Purpose
THANMANA	MA-KAKKI-MA, THAN, BIYATRA, GANGA, DHALESWARI, PARAMESHWARI, KALAIYA, RAKSHYAL, BHUT RAJA, MODYA, HADYA, FULLKAMARI, MEL KAMARI,MOHINI- these are fourteen	To relief from all kinds of diseases, epidemics and to protect from the evils and ghosts and from wild ani-

		to gain properity of the family.
BURPARA	MATYA, GANGA, BIYATRA, BAJA-MATTI.	To protect from the attack of the tiger.

3. GUTTI (Clan) BASED PUJA :

GUTTIBHAT OR BHATDYA. Other gods and goddesses.	Lord Buddha	From salvation of the deads of several generations of a clan.

4. PUBLIC FESTIVALS:

Cart pulling or chariot pulling, Bizhu festivals, Buddha Purnima, Pravarani Purnima, Kathin Chibar Dana etc.

SOME BENEVOLENT GODS AND GODDESSES :

MA-LAKKI-MA -	goddess of crops and fortune.
THAN -	god of house hold or village.
BIYATRA -	Son of Ganga and the god for all works of welfare.

GANGA - The goddess of river, oceans and water.

DHALESWARI - The goddess of learning or according to another view the goddess of cotton.

PARAMESWARI - The goddess of nature.

RAKHYAL - The god for preservation of soil or according to another view the god of the forest.

BHUTRAJA - The kind of ghots.

MODYA - The god of the tiger.

HADYA - The god of harmful insects.

FUL KAMARI - The goddess of scabies and boils.

MEL KAMARI - The goddess of Pox, Cholera etc.

MOHINI - The goddess earth.

SIJILA - The god of harms to the child.

BARMA - The god of fire.

BIKRAM PUDIMA - The goddess of art and craft.

CHONDI - The goddess of games and sports.

Besides these we find the names of many gods and goddesses. Offerings of various pujas are given to please them.

we are giving here descriptions of the two pujas of the Chakmas as examples.

1. DHARMAKAM PUJA - This puja is offered for having peace and prosperity of the family. This is a family based puja and has a very important significance in the Chakma society. This puja is held in accordance with the rituals of the TANTRAS of the Buddhistic scriptures. SIDDHI PUJA is the another name of this DARMAKAM PUJA.

This puja is held in the jungle. This is an extra-ordinary ritual which success totally depends upon a number of miracles. The LORI (Priest) performs the puja. He is a Buddhist priest and performs the puja in accordance with the TANTRAS. He is helped by LOTHAK who lived a saintly life for sometimes. For this puja it is customary to build up a new house in a part of the jungle of the village. A stage is built by the side of the house. The statue of Lord Buddha is placed on the newly built stage. In the previous evening of the day of the puja the house holder along with his kith and kins and invitees offer their homage to Lord Buddha maintaining some rituals.

A part of the AGARTARA Scripture is read out there.

Next day at the dawn a suitable place is chalked out near by the puja place to cook rice, vegitables, sweet rice - porridge etc. and the cooked articles are carried to the puja place with great care and full of devotions. There the cooked rice are poured with some water and these are turned into a ball of rice and is placed at proper place like pyramide pattern. Various kinds of fruits are given. Cakes, Sweet rice-porridges, ghee, sugar, molasses etc. are also offered. After completion of arrangements the house holder offers his homage to the Puja and the LORI begins to read out the 'Dasaparmi Tara'. The house holder with his wife moves around the place three times. It is believed that a spider comes at the place when the puja is successfully done by maintaining strict ritualistic performances. The presence of the spider naturally makes happy the puja premises and all take the puja as successfully offered. Then fourteen roosters and pig are sacrified to please the popular gods and goddesses except Lord Buddha. The sacrifices are done at a some distant place from the Puja area. After this the priest begins to read out the last Chapter of the MALEN TARA and he completes this Chapter. The Priest explains the significances of the Philosophical ideas of Lord Buddha to the followers. With the permission of the priest all attending persons utter with deep respect " SIDDHI PUJA PAR GELO" . With this the priest declares the end of puja performance.

The house has to observe some ritualistics performance in carefully and strictly from beginning to the end of the puja.

THANMANA PUJA :

This is a village based puja and every year this puja is held in the months of Magh and Falgun in each village. This puja is held by collecting subscription in proportionately from the villagers. Each family gives in charity a cock or hen, some rice and some money for welfare of the village. THAN is regarded as the saviour god of the village. Scrifices and offerings are given to these fourteen gods and goddesses. They are (1) MA-LAKKI-MA, (2) THAN, (3) BIYATRA, (4) GANGA, (5) DHALESWARI, (7) KALAIYA, (8) RAKHYAL, (9) BHUTRAJA, (10) MODYA , (11) HADYA, (12) FUL KAMARI, (13) MELKAMARI AND (14) MOHINI DIVI.

The puja is performed in accordance with the traditional rituals. It is celebrated on the river bank by constructing an alter with the bamboo cane attached to the river. On the bank of the river three bamboos are made pedestal to make a MACHANG on which a small hut is built up. This is called GANGAGHAR. An alter is made on the MACHANG with the clay for sitting of the goddess GANGA. Similarly another alter is also made for sitting of BIYATRA, the son of GANGA. More alters are also made for sitting arrangements of other gods and

goddesses on the bank of the river just above the water lavel. Image of each god or goddess is made with the reeds of bamboo or cane and is placed on the bank of the river. Symbolic paddy, cotton tree etc. are made with the reeds of the bamboo or cane and these are hung on the posted bamboos. Goat scrifices are given to GANGA and pigs are sacrificed to MA-LAKKI-MA, BIYATRA PARAMESWARI and BHUTRAJA. Cocks and pigeons are also sacrificed to other gods ad goddesses. After completion of the puja every body eat with hearts content with the flesh of these sacrified animals and birds.

Rice, Grains of rice, paddy, flowers etc. are used in this puja.

The influenec of ANIMISM is traceable in the pujas of the Chakmas. It is clearly seen that the influence of animism has great important role in the performances of the Pujas of the Chakmas. It is superflous to say that this was originated from their traditional community belief and thoughts. For this reason the mystic rituals are mixed with the performance of the pujas. And this type of mystic beliefs and rites are also found in the pujas and rituals of other race or nation till this age. We know that primitive men could not analyse the mystry of the nature and out of this some mustic beliefs were formed in their mind and Chakmas are not exception to this. For this they took trees, flowers, leaves, forest, rivers, hills as gods and sources of supernatural powers and rituals are originated from these ideas

and beliefs. With the advancement of learning reasons came to analyse these and some of the rituals are changed to some extent and these changed form we find in the folk tales, folk rituals and folk gospels etc.

The Chakma rituals may be discussed with rituals of other tribes of Tripura. Wine is offered as an essential article for the puja of the Chakma. It is observed that almost all tribes as a part of the puja offerings. They have no fixed puja pandle. They offer the puja in a natural surroundings or at their house. It is a characteristic feature of the ancient puja ritual to analyse the sacrificed cock or hen and the offered articles to determine good or bad which would derive from the puja. This custom is in vongue in the ancient tribes of Burma, Thailand etc. Jhum or forest oriented gods and goddess are seen almost in all tribes.

But there remains some dis-similiarity in the rituals. Totemism prevails among these tribes. But the Chakmas do not belive in Totemism. Probably that ancient rite was stopped by the direct influence of Buddhism. The Chakmas are not snake worshippers . But we find that the other tribes of North Eastern Regions are devoted to Snake worshipping. Even in some cultured and developed sects of the Hindus are worshipers to the Snake. The Chakmas are not also devotees to the puja of the Sun. But worshipping to the Sun is in vougue in many ancient races of the world. To sacrifice white coloured animals in some pujas of the Chakmas are found

customary in the society and this ritual might originate from the thoughts of worshipping to the sun. Because the Austrict groups of tribes such as Munda, Birhor, Khanda, Kheria, Shabar etc. are devotes to the puja of the Sun and these tribes sacrifice white coloured he - goat or cock to please the god. Beside these some taboos are found in the society of the Chakma and these taboos play a vital role in the mind of an individual as well as in the social customs of the Chakmas. The great influence of the taboos is also found in other tribes and races of the world also.

Now we may discuss with the influences of the ancient Buddhistic rituals among the Pujas and festivals of the Chakmas. The Vadya Puja of the Chakmas has an inportant role in the Chakma society and we find the mention of this Vadya Puja in the ancient Buddhistic literatures. It is cited in the ancient Buddhistic literatures, that Bimbisara the king of Magadha, once worshipped the Vadya Puja in accordance with the Buddhistic rites for solvation of the souls of his dead kiths and kins. So the Chakmas followed the ancient Buddhistic rites as an ancient followers to Buddhism, we can take this as an inferance. The customary festival of Chariot drawing of the Chakmas prohably originated by the influence of Buddhism following to the laws of the TANTRAS. In ancient times this Chariot pulling festival was in vongue in the Mahayani Buddhists of Tibet. This puja is still in vougue in various Mahayani Buddhistic sects in India. Even today this Chariot drawing is a

customary festival among the tribals named Khamti, Thai, Manpa in Assam. There remains a slight difference in observing this festival by the Chakmas of Tripura. They observe this festival with the ritualistic performances for the deads. The Chakma customs of BYUHACHAKRA and KALPATARU are originated from the Buddhistic rituals.

From the above analysis we may conclude that the influances of Buddhistic Tantras and the rituals of Hinduism have a great role in the Pujas and Festivals of the Chakmas of Tripura. But the concept of Annimism was derived from their traditional customs, rites and beliefs. In this respect there remains ample scopes for researches for having authentic conclusion. It may be said that the study of the Pujas and festivals of the Chakmas will reveal some sources of their ancient history.

In the role of the Pujas and festivals of the Chakmas we have seen that some Buddhistic rituals have a great influence on them. Here are some main Buddhistic rituals. These are Baishakhi Purnima or Buddha Joyanti, Prabarana Purnima, Ashwini Purnima, Falguni Purnima.

CHAMULANG PUJA

The Chumulang Puja has a great social significance to the Chakma. Offerings to this puja can be performed at a time for having a marriage, child, increasing

harvest, social gain and growth. The rites of this puja vary in accordance with the character for which it is made. The house holder inform the LORI or RAULI in the previous evening to perform the puja. In the next morning the LORI generally comes to the house holder where the festival is being made. He asks for CHANGARI which is a bamboo structure. This CHANGARI is to be raised with seven parts of bamboo strips. Two small baskets are also placed near the CHANGARI. One of the baskets contains rice and the other contains paddy. Usually wine is served there. The LORI begins the puja by changing the mantras. Three pigs and a roster head are boiled. They are laid up on the leaves of banana and are kept in the CHANGARI. During this puja the adoration of PARAMESWARI is also made as the CHAKMAS regard this goddess as mother earth who is the wife of CHUMULANG .

VADYA PUJA :

The Chakma offer to the Vadya Puja in memory of the souls of their ancestors. In this puja they serve rice, curry, sweets etc. for each soul of the ancestors. Generally they count the souls of the forefathers up to the third or fifth remove. The offerings are prepared in the dense forest and they feel the presence of the past souls at the time of this puja. The LORI exchange the mantras from the scriptures. Durings this time the past souls come down from the frontier of death to partake the food as food as offered by their beloved

living beings on the earth. The insects which may settle on the food must be thought to be soul of the ancestors reborn in the new shape.

BUR-PARA PUJA

This Bur Para Puja is offered to a nature deity for the well being of the family. The LORI instructs all the members of the family to go to the river ghat for washing the head for purification. Flowers, gold, silver and iron are necessary for performing this puja.

PUJAS ASSOCIATED WITH BIRTH

The Ganga Puja is celebrated for the welfare of the pregnant mother. For the safe delivery of the mother the Barapara Puja is also performed. In some villages the Bhut Puja is also made. A unique puja is made for the welfare of the pregnant mother by the river side where a hut is built.

A pitcher is kept in front of the hut and a betel nut is dipped into the pitcher. One end of a thread is tied around the neck of the pitcher and the other end of the thread is tied with the door of the hut. The pitcher is touched seven times at the fore head of the pregnant woman. The woman along with the pitcher is taken into the hut and some rites are to be performed there. After having this rituals they come back to their home and arrange a social feast by killing a pig. This feast is called AGIDA. THE KUJUPANI PUJA is connected with the newly born baby. For

purification of the mother the PADU-OJHA takes the mother to the river ghat after a month of the birth of the baby. The PADU-OJHA takes the mother to the river ghat after a month of the birth of the baby. The PADU-OJHA performs some rituals and with the holy water she purifys the mother.

LAKKI PUJA :

The Chakmas are Buddhists. But the Hindu influence is found in their culture and in the worships of some Hindu deities. They worship Siva, Kali, Lakki, Saraswati like the Hindus. They have a remarkable religious scripture Lakki Pala by name. This pala is sung all night long. Animal scrifices are made to this puja. Fruits, sweets, cakes are also offered to this puja for having wealth and prosperity. A social feast is given on the occassion of this puja. The Buddhists traditional rituals and rites are Hajar, Buatis, Dhanfang, Ayapuja, Thamington, Ekatara Puja, Halpalani Puja. Fagiri Puja is performed to get rid of the tigers.

THE CHAKMAS MOST POPULAR BIZHU FESTIVAL.

"Bizhu" is the most popular colourful traditional festival of the Chakmas. This festival is enthusiastically observed for three days starting from the last two days of the month of Chaitra to the first day of the coming Bengali New year's Day of the month of Baishakh. The observing first day is called the Full Bizhu. The second and the third day are

popularly known as Mul Bizhu and gochya Pachya Bizhu respectively. Among these three days the second day, Mul Buzhu, is considered the holiest observance as it bids good buy to the passing year and welcomes the new year with eager expectations of peace and prosperity. During the Bizhu festive days the Chakmas find the vale of their mind open with full of joy and merriment.

From ethno-sociological point of view the Bizhu festival was based on Jhum cultivation in the remote past. So we can accept the proposition unhasitatingly the most popular Bizhu originally was agro-based festival. We find that all primitive tribes observe some ritual on the eve of sowing the first seeds on the earth which is considered as holy divine mother. The Chakmas of Tripura is not left other than offering homage to the earth. Gradually for developing the richness and variety of the festive some folk religious features were added to this. These were related to the theme of spring festivals which are almost alike as performed in the tropical zones all over the world.

The Bizhu festival may be compared to the neighbouring areas both in India and other countries of the world. We can refer the festival of Bihu in Assam, Chaitra Sankranti and Nababarsa in Bengali, Sangkrain in Thailand and Sangrai in Mayenmar (Burma) which are akin to each other to some extent. The agro-based festive of the Tripuris living in Tripura and Bangladesh are akin to the festive of

BISHU of the scheduled caste community of Himachal Pradesh named Chemang. In Kerala also BISHU is observed with full devotion. Although these festivals are observed in different areas and in different countries in different manners and styles but we find that the motto and theme are almost same for observing the festive and we may conclude that the festivals as observed by different tribes and communities in and outside India have closed affinity with Bizhu of the Chakmas of Tripura.

The Bizhu festival may be discussed separately in details.

FUL BUZHU

For observance of the day 'Ful' or flowers are collected to decorate the premises of the house. On the eve of observance the house hold materials, clothes, the bedding particulars are washed and cleansed as far as practicable. On this day of observance the particular Bizhuful is plucked specially. Bizhuful comprising with betel leaf and betel nut is offered with great homage to the SYLVAN deity. Afterwards it is put into a jar of water maintaining a specific manner. This sanctified water is given to all the members of the family to drink as a safeguard against the diseases and all other odds throughout the coming new year. Various fruits and foods are collected to serve Candles are lighted at the doors, husking places and on the water

side at dusk. The village temple is illuminated with candles and fire works are lighted and it continues for remaining days of the festive.

MUL BIZHU

The second day of the popular Bizhu festival is called Mul Bizhu in which everybody rises from bed at dawn and takes bath in the nearest river or water points for self purificatin. After having bath everybody puts on best dresses. Youngers are in very festive mood and they go to all houses in the village where they are entertained with various kinds of foods and drinks. The teenagers go to the house with busket ful of paddy or rice to feed the domestic fowls. Infirms and disabled elders are bathed by the youngers who are blessed with good wishes. The older villagers are grouped at around the midday and set out with the KIRTAN parties following religious and devotional songs accompaning with various musical instruments and almost every house and paths of the villages are moved by them. The villagers remain in festive mood and usually they take the country made liquor which is not considered an act of shameful.

Suitable games and sports are also organised by young men and women at some suitable place of the village. In the evening traditional songs, music, dances and cultural programmes are performed at some suitable places of the village. Popular ballads are also played with bardic songs. To encourage the

actors and the actresses as well as the audience the RENG is shouted. The Reng is a mode of peculiar and joyful shouting to provoke tremendous joy in the minds of the participants as well as the audience.

In this festive day various individual rites are also performed. Grown up young girls are given KHADI (breast covering cloth) as recognition of attaining of youth. Newly married couples visit the houses of their relatives with cherishable foods. Old pious men and women pass the day and night in the village temple following the ASTANGIKMURG of the Lord Buddha. Some men and women sitting together recite some selected hymns from the holy scriptures like the Tripitaks and the Agartara and so on. There is a popular belief that if some one dies in this auspicious day the doors of the paradise will remain wide open for the individual to enter freely into the paradise.

GOCHYA-PACHYA-BIZHU

Gochya Pachya Bizhu is popularly observed primarily on socio-religious point of view. To commemorate the marriage occasion community feasts are performed irrespective of marriage dates in many houses of the Chakma society to observe the auspicious festive day. BURAPARA which is a propritation of evil spirits is performed in some houses for remaining good of all the members of the family for the new year. GUTTI BHAT which is a

ritual to offer rice or PINDA to the departed souls of the ancestors is generally performed in prescribe manner on this day. In highly colourful manners the ceremonial Buddha puja is offered in the local Buddhist temple. At least a member of the family goes to the temple with SHIYANG which is a system of offering food in the name of Lord Buddha. In the evening the balled GENGKHULI is staged in some of the premises of the rich men. Thus by performing various rituals this festive day passes bestowing peace of mind and aspired for coming days.

We are informed that Bizhu festival was performed for fifteen days in the past. But why this festival has come to confine for three days, the reason is not known to us. But we can infer causes of raising prices of essential commodities and falling constraints on socio-economical spheres. Hence the expensive fifteen days festival has been confined to three days' observing festival to avoid groaning economical constraints to the family life as well as the society as a whole.

As the Bizhu festival is a popular festival so this festival has developed gradually into a Mela or Fair to meet up the growing demands of modern mind in modern circumstances that put impact on the way of living in the modern age. We know that the Chakma king introduced this mela at Rangunia near Rajnagar of Chittagong of Bangladesh in the first decades of the nineteenth century. So the Bizhu mela was

patronised by the royal family. Following the foot steps the Bizhu Mela has been revived in Tripura. In participating in the Mela the various cultural parties find themselves easy to exchange the views and experience for promoting their growing artistic excellence that would strengthen the unit of fellow feeling and brotherhood.

It is to note here that for promoting of tribal culture the state Govt. of Tripura has been giving due patronise to the Bizhu festival or Bizhu mela through which the Chakmas would get their age-old traditional culture which is a symbol of their distinct national identity.

RELIGIOUS MANTRAS OF THE CHAKMAS

The Chakmas have various kinds of religious mantras recited in the shamanistic purpose. Some of the mantras are used to ward off the evils and to cure the patient from the threshold of the evils and sufferings. Some are used against the enemies and to fulfil the desire of the applier. For purification of a man the Chakmas use the water of the river with the help of the LORI which enchants the mantras in the Chakma dialect.

We are citing some of the mantras for examples.

[A]

BUR PARA MANDAR

DERE GANGA DERE PANI

ABUJ MANEI SUDDHA GARI

SUDDHA GARI PADHANG GHAR

MAR NANG DEBIR PUT SHIBSANKAR

JURO CHHARA JURE PANI

DERE GANGA DERE PANI

SURANG GARANG URANG MANI

SUJANG NALE VARANG PANI

DERE GANGA DERE PANI

ABUJ MANEI SUDDHA GARI

SUDDHA GARI PADHANG GHAR

MAR NANG DEBIR PUT SHIBSHANKAR

SHIL BHANGI PATHER GARANG

PATHER BHANGI DARGA GARANG

SIGNIFICANCE

Shibshankar, the son of goddess, prays to the mother Ganga to grant him to take water to purify the silly human beings. The water of the brook is cold. He will collect water from the brook and he prays to allow

him to purify the silly human beings. After purification by removing the uncleanness he will send them to their respective houses. He solicitates to the mother Ganga that he is Shibshankar, the son of goddess.

[B] PURIFICATION MANTRA

SHIL BHANGI PATHER GARANG

PATHER BHANGI DARJA GARANG

DURJA PANI HUJE TULANG

SAJANG NALE BHARANG PANI

ABUJ MANEI SUDDHA GARANG

SHUDDHA GARI PADHANG GHAR

MARE NANG DEBIR PUT SHIBSHANKAR

SIGNIFICANCE

After crushing the stones I shall create a sea. I shall arrange all human abodes to live over the surface of the sea. I shall draw water for them and I shall purify the silly human beings to send them to their houses after purification. I am the son of goddess, Shibsankar.

[C] FUL PARA

UNG UTTARETTUN ANILUNG PHUL

NANGE NIRANJAN

GORAKHANAHTE DILA PHUL

GARLUNG JATTAN.

DELA TARE

NADELE MARE

SATGANG SAJURI

DWI – CHARANAT PARHE

UNG SWAHA PUA

SIGNIFICANCE

The flower which is brought from the north is called Niranjan (Pure). This flower is obtained from Gorakhnath. This is kept with care. At the sight of this flower one gets life, if death is not avoided. I transmit the magical words to hyptonise the person and to bend down to the lady-love.

[D] MAD PARA

UNG SHIBENG PUDI KAJAL PUDI

SAT PHUDURE MA

KI PUGE CHARA KARE

ANDHAR RATRI GA

MARI JA PHUDDYE

MARI JA

SIGNIFICANCE

Some wine is sanctified by exchanging this mantra with a view to destroying the insects from the plants.

[E] BIJH JHARA

UNG ORE ORE PADMA

MAHADEBER JHI

DEB NANGE KAM

GARAR BANA KI

SUMERU RUPASI PADMA

KAM NEI GHURA GHURI

KARMA DILA DWANI AR

MURI DILUNG BHAT BARI

MAHADEBE DILA BAR

PADMAYA GARE RA

PHALNER KALKUTI

NIMIJAT KADI JHA

SIGNIFICANCE

When a snake bites a person the Chakma OJHAS exchange this magical mantra to cure the wounded person to relief from the pain of poison that leds to death.

[F] JWRAR PANI PARA

UNG – UTHA LARANG MU LARANG

BAYU GARANG THIR

PHALNER ULMATYA MANA GANGE GARANG

JWILBA TANSE THIDI GARANG

GANGA BHAGIRATHI

THENGTALE THIDHI GARANG

MADA BAJUNMATI

NABHIMULE THIDI GARANG

BURMA UJAL GHAR

NASIKATE THIDHI GARANG

PABAN DUI SHAR

CHAKSU MADHU THIDHI GARANG

DUI KALA CHAN

KARNAMULE THIDHI GARANG

CHAITANYA GOJEN

MALUMETTE GARANG

EKACHAKRA GHILA

DUI HASTE THILDHI GARANG

ENGILA PINGILA

DUE PADE THIDI GARANG

SUSARMMA GANDHARI

DHARI AGHE MAHAPRABHU

EI CHARE NARI

KAYA CHARMA DHARI AGHE

BISHNU NIRANJAN

RAKTA MANGSA DHARI AGHE

DEVA BIROCHAN

KETU – DURGA DHARI AGHE

SHAKTI TRIBHUBAN

BHENU BHENU BADYA BAJE NIKUNJA BHABAN

ANGKAR SUSARI GANGA

UNKAR SUYA (!)

UNGKAR AIRABATI GANGA

UNGKAR SUYA (!)

UNGKAR JANHABI GANGA

UNGKAR SUYA (!)

UNGKAR SHIBA JAL HANGA

UNGKAR SUYA (!)

MAN HOK THIR TAN HOK THIR

UNGKAR SUYA (!)

SIGNIFICANCE

For removing sufferings from fever the OJHA takes a considerable quantity of water and begins to utter the magical words for sanctifying the water. He follows some prescribed manners by uttering the mystic words for removal of fever.

Some Social Prohibitions and Folk Beliefs :

Like other aboriginal tribes of North-East India the Chakmas also have many social prohibitions and folk beliefs. However, of late with the rapid expansion of modern education these are not common in practice in present Chakma society. But it is worth-mentioning that considering the ethno-sociological point of view, particularly in assertaining the characteristics of any ethnic group of people, these are most inevitable. Hence, we like to mention here some examples of its :-

1. A news of snake-biting should not be conveyed to a pregnant woman. If it is done, so the patient takes a longer times to recover.

2. If more than one child of a woman die consecutively during their childhood, the next child is given an award name, so that even the Yam Raja does not find interest in him.

3. A dead body of a woman with her head towards west and dead body of a man with his head towards north are cremated or buried.

4. If a person gets a hidden treasure or abundant money unexpectedly he has to offer a feast to his neighbours.

5. If a firefly is seen on bed room during night time it

is assumed that children will pass urine on the bed that night.

6. If some one drops a bowl or vessel from the hands on the floor suddenly, it is assumed that the guests will come very shortly to his house.

7. A sneeze on the eve of departure is symbolises a bad sign.

8. Breaking a spoon while preparing the food out of the cooking vessel is considered as a bad omen. And the male do not eat this food. It is said that consumption of that food causes physical harm to them.

9. In case, heads of two persons collide suddenly they have to repent the act cordially. Otherwise, both of them may fall pray to ill-fate.

10. The dead bodies are cremeted at the time of afternoon, but before sun set.

11. The dead bodies are not cremated on wednesday. As it is believed that the court of Yam Raja remains closed on that day. If some one dies at the evening time of Tuesday, his dead body is also to be kept uncremated upto the afternoon of Thursday.

12. If a person sleeps keeping his head to the straight point of a post of the house, then he will have nightmare that noght.

13. No woman utters the name of her hasband. Because such an act brings misfortune for her husband or family.

14. A woman refrains washing and mopping works on the day of her hasband leaves home for any good job. She also does not wash her hair during her bath particularly on that day.

15. Sight of a commet or fall of a meteor is considered a bad omen.

16. It is customary that when anybody sets his foot into the water of a river or lake, he should have to utter the words "Pho-Pho".

17. The sitting of a vulture or an eagle on the roof of a house predict itself evil happenings for the family.

18. People whose house gets destroyed in fire are not allowed to enter other houses until they do not perform a sanctification rituals.

19. If a person dies by the attack of a tiger, the entire clan's men of that deceased have to observe a sanctificationary ritual as directed by the Ojhas.

20. If a domestic or any petty animal calls or springs aimlessly or behave abnormally at an odd time, it is assumed that a natural calamity, like eathquake or a vigorus storm will soon affliet the village.

21. While coming back after cremating a dead body one should not look back. Doing such act will bring an omen to him.

22. A prolong discussion on the provoketing sexual affairs among the friends circle resulted for the participants the bad meals.

23. The two eyebrows of a man joined with one another symbolized itself a sign of his life-long ill-fortune.

24. If a girl's hair comes down to the bellow of her knee during her standing position she may be supposed a ill-fated one.

25. If a woman's wearing cloth produced sound at the time of her walking, she is considered as a woman of bad character.

26. If one's head or leg hits the door frame at time of departure, there will be ill-luck for him.

THE TABOOS :

There are some taboos persuaded by the Chakma-folk from the times immemorial. But, in this regard it is mentionable that the particular taboos are being obeyed by the particular clan. Obviously, there must be seen the clanwise variation of taboos among the Chakma Society. Here are some vivid examples of taboos that prevailing in the Chakma society as follows :

1. The cultivation of pumpkin fruit is prohibited for the "Naduktik" clan.

2. The eating of snake meat is prohibited for the "Bamon" clan.

3. It is prohibited for "Shelochy" clan to eat the meat of "Gui" (iguana) which is hunted from their own jhum field.

4. The matrimonial relation can not be made in between the clans of "Beng' and "Tova".

5. It is prohibited for "Naduktuk" clan to weave a winnowing fan.

6. The production of cucurbitaceious plant is prohibited for 'Vudo' clan.

FOLK DANCE :-

Folk dance is a marvellous artistic medium in which the inherent of happiness of a man's life is spontaneously exposed. As a result the art of dance is very favourite to each society irrespective of any caste and creed in the cultural sphere. The tribal Chakma society is not controvention to this. In their day-to-day dull Jumia life their traditional folk dance brings happiness in their mind. In their society folk dance is arranged mainly on social festives or various puja rituals. Generally the young men and ladies take part in these folk dances.

In Chakma language the dance is called NACH. This word has probably come from the Word NACHCH of Pali language. The folk dances as prevailing in the society of the Chakmas mainly are Bizhu dance, Jum dance, Kadalpur dance, THANMANA dance, PATTAPATTI dance, MALEIYA dance and DHAL-KADHANG dance etc. Here are the brief descriptions of these dances as given below :

BIZHU DANCE :

Bizhu is the most popular colourful traditional festival of the Chakmas. From the last two days of the month of Chaitra and the first day of the coming new year's day this festival is enthusiastically observed. On this occasion the Chakma traditional Bizhu festival the folk Bizhu dance was exhibited in the village functions. At recent times Bizhu dance is organised on state basis or regional basis competition on the Bizhu festival occasion and the groups of folk dancers assembled together coming from the villages take part in this competition.

In this folk dance the young men and women generally take part. In each group there are equal number of young men and women. In each dancing group there remain four to eight artists who present their performance with the most artistic skillness. Having decorated with the most colourful costumes they show their dancing skillness. The dancing is exhibited in corporated with the indigenous musical instruments like DHUL (DRAM), flute, KHENG

GARANG, TAK etc. In recent times it is found that some Bizhu cultural teams exhibit this traditional dance in corporation with harmonium and other electronic musical instruments which hamper the traditional tune of this folk dance. The songs which are sung along with the dance are to express the significance of the Bizhu celebration and for giving joy and happiness to the minds of the youths. The songs are composed on natural phenominon.

JHUM DANCE :

Jhum dance is one of the traditional dance of the Chakmas. With this dance a tale of the Chakma narrative ballad is behind. Lakkipala is the name of this narrative ballad. The tale is that the goddes Lakki decended from the heaven to this earth and instructed one MICHHINGYA the process of cultivation. In accordance with the instructions of the goddess Michhingya firstly cut the branches of the tree and cleared the herbs and bushes of the forest and these were let to dry in the sun shine. After having dried he lighted fire before the advent of first rain. Land become fertile and he sowed seeds of paddy and other crops. He nursed the paddy seedlings by removing the weeds. The paddy plants were grown up and in course of time he reaped a good harvest. At the harvesting time the goddess Lakki tells Michchingya to arrange a celebration on harvesting of paddy. So a function is arranged in one side of the Jhum. In this function the peoples of various tribes and races were invited. In this function

the goddess Lakki revealed her identity and departed to the heaven. Before her disappearance she told that the people of the world to regard this paddy as to attain their main goal. From thence the Jhum dance has been carried on with splendid vigour and sacntity.

The Characteristic of this jhum dance is to show gradual steps of Jhum cultivation by exposing various poses and gestures of dancing. So this dance may be classified as the dance based on the system of working of the Chakmas. This dance is somewhat slow in motion in comparison to the Bizhu dance. The costumes of this dance are made alike to the costumes as used for Jhum cultivation. The male and female youths take part in this. Equal numbers of artists from each group take part in this dance. This dance is performed on the occasion of the festival of eating newly grown autumnal rice.

KADALPUR DANCE :

KADALPUR DANCE is a folk dance of the Chakmas based on Buddhism. Regarding the creation of this dance there is a Chakma cultural heritage. In the first part of the eighteenth century there was a pagoda as built by the Buddhist Chakmas at Rangunia in the Hill tracts of Chittagong now in Bangladesh. The name of this pagoda was Kadalpur. In every year for observing the lunar day of the full moon of the month of Falgun a colourful Buddha fair was organised under the Royal guidance and patronage.

In this fair men and women of earnestly desirous of earning piety would assembled in this fair from different parts of the Chakma Kingdom. They would dance in the premises of this pagoda unrestrainedly. The worshipers believed that their aspirations would be fulfilled by way of dancing in the premises of this pagoda on this auspicious day. Some persons formerly desired that if their intentions are fulfilled then they would go to the pagoda on that auspicious day to worship the Lord Buddha by dancing in the premises. It is superfluous to say that following that traditional dance of the Kadalpur pagoda this Kadalpur dance was created in later period. Before starting of the dance the artists light the lamps on the stage in memory to the Lord Buddha. After lighting they begin to dance with gesturing of dancing. In this dance the young men and women take part by putting on colourful and gorgeous costumes. It may be referred here that this dance is very popular in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong in Bangladesh.

THANMANA DANCE :

THANMANA DANCE is a Chakma traditional rural worshipped based dance. The word Thanmana means to regard the nature. In this worshiping dance fourteen goddesses are worshipped such as GANGA-MAA, BIYATRA, THAN, DHALESWARI-MA etc. Sacrifices are offered to these goddesses for desiring good wishes to all villagers. The worship is held in the prominent river of the village. Only the males are permitted to take part in the worship. At the time of

worshipping this traditional PUJA the worshippers being mutually smeared with KARAIGURI begin to dance. In the later period this Thanmana dance is created following the unrestrained dance. In this dance the dancers remain free from putting cloths on the upper portion of their body. But they use KHABANG (Turban) on their head.

PATTAPATTI DANCE :

ThisPattapatti dance is created fully basing on the beauty of the nature. Seeing the colourful butterflies and their artistic and skilled mode of collecting honey inspired them to create such type of dance to express the beauty of the nature and mind of man. The little children putting on colourful dresses take part in this dance.

MALEYA DANCE

The word Meleya means to give collective physical labour. If a householder is incapable of cultivating in his Jhum for falling in the grasp of a fatal disease or for some other reasons for a period and in such case the villagers collectively work in the Jhum field of the householder for a day or more. This system is called Maleya. On this Maleya occasion a feast is arranged in the house holder himself or in case of a poor and incapabled family the villagers bear the expenses of the feast by subscribing themselves. The arrangement of the dance is called Maleya dance in which the males and the females take part.

DHAL-KADHANG DANCE

Dhal-Kadhang dance is the only war dance of the Chakmas. In ancient times there was a vanguard named DEINYAK in the royal army. On the eve of the expiration of the royal army the Deinyak vanguard would dance unrestrainedly to worth the sword and inspiring the army to fight gallantly in the battle. This kind of dance became to be known as Dhal-Kadhang dance in the later period. Only the males take part in this dance. They dressed themselves with the war dresses and begin to dance taking the sword and the shield in the hands using the sword and the shield in an artistic manner as used in the battle against the enemy. In this dance big tom-toms, trumpets and TAKS (musical instrument) are used. In recent times bells made of iron or bellmetal are also rung. The audience sometimes rise a heroic shout in the midst of the running of the dance to encourage the dances and to express the enjoyment of the audience.

Chakma Folk Song :

The Folk song is one of the ancient artistic media of revealing the expression of thoughts and mind of a group of people or a society. This artistic form can enchant thousands of people easily hearing the melodious and sweet tune along with various kinds of musical instruments.

Chakma Folk Songs can be grouped by four kinds.

These contain (a) Gen-Khuli Geet, (b) Uvo Geet, (c) Aligeet, (d) Bijhu Geet.

(A) Genghkhuli geet are the traditional Chakma ballad songs as comes from time immemorial past. These folk songs are composed n herioc events, love stories, mistry of the creation of the earth and life or the life story of Lord Buddha and his fables etc. and these are sung in a function at night. Gengkhuli is the name of the person who sings this ballad along with the help of a violin or a Sarindra, a type of musical instrument. This function may continue one or two nights considering the span of the Pala or plot or theme of the ballad.

The famous folk songs of the Chakmas are : Radhamawn-Dhanpudi Pala, Lorbut Midungi Pala, Laxmi Pala, Chadigang Chhari Pala, Langya-Langani Pala etc.

(b) Ubhogeet is based on love songs or the songs about nature. It is an inherent human nature of expressing the mind by reciprocal appeal of love from a man to a woman or vise versa. This can be sung by an individual performance. Sometimes it is sung by a man and a woman in the mood of competitive. It is said that in ancient times the Chakma young men and young ladies passed the night at the Jaltungi (dormitory) which was built and meant for them and they there played on HENGARONG, FLUTE, SHINGA etc. and sang love songs with these their

indigenous musical instruments. Or two skilled genkhulis can sing acting as a lover and the beloved on a competition mood in the function of the genkhuli. In recent times the Chakmas youths practice this love songs at their leisure hour or in the midst of Jum Harvesting. The tune of this Ubhogeet is not different from the tune of gengkhuli geet.

(c) Aligeet is lullabyes or cradle songs of the children. This Chakma word OLI resembles to the Hindi word LORI. Only the females sing this type of Oligeet having no musical instruments.

(d) Bizhugeet is the traditional Chakma songs based on the celebration of Bizhu festival. In this the natural phenominal contents are prominent. In this sense this can be branded as songs of nature. In this Bizhugeet the Chakma indigenous musical instruments can be used.

As examples we are giving here some folk songs. It is to mention here that gengkhuli ballads are so long for which we are not citing them. Here are a few of the Uvogeet given below for instance. A female lover expresses her heart to her beloved.

I. SHILATTALE TUDING CHHAW

KEYA MADEGHANG SHUNANG RAW

KHELAN TASKHARA RANG DEI NEI

MEYA JORELUNG GAM DEINEI

PANI KHEIYA PANATTUN

NITYA NAWJAY MANATTUN

URER BARANI KHUYOTTALE

PARAN JUREBAW KUYAT GELE

PANI KHEIYA DWIMALA

DILE SHARILAT KI JWALA

English rendering :

The kidlings of th birds are twittering staying behind the stone. Their twittering is heard but they are not visible. The gentle breeze brings your fragrance but you are not seen. To me you are indispensible as like as the trump card in times of playing cards. Drinking cooled and pure water a person is contented so as I am also contented with the memory of you. As 'BARANI' birds fly through the mist such as I also intend to go at your presence amidst the sufferings of love.

Here is an affectionate man expresses his mind to his beloved lady to give her consolation.

2. CHIGON MARIJA NATANICH

DELE SWABANE NAKANICH

UJI KHEIYA CHHAW KUJU

BHANGI PARIMBI TW-UJU.

English rendering : It is fruitless to pull small canes creeping hardly on the branches of the tree. Do not cry on dreaming as the result would come fruitless. I have eaten an esculant edible root. So I would come to meet with you in the force of my urgency.

3. But the lady lover becomes restless not seeing her beloved man. But the spring time is very near. She speaks to her self :

MAGHE - PHAGUNE FELLE HIN

DARU TULI HARING SHING

NITTIT TULI MABANG DIN

EKBUGI PAJA - EK BUGI DIN

MAGHE - PHAGUNE FEELE HIN.

PE KYAW DAGARE CHING CHING CHING

MAA-BAPE PALEB KAYABYAW DIN

SADAR - LANGYA PALEB CHIRA DIN.

PERA BUJHI DARU CHIN.

GHARA BUJHI CHARA JIN,

GUJURI PARELLI NAGAR-DIN

BINAMA KADIJAR GABUR DIN

English readering : Cold wind is blowing in the month of Magh and Falgun (January and Feb.). Now is the proper time to collect the horns of the deer for medicine. In such time I am passing the days hardly without you. A passing day seems to me a year.

Frost has fallen in the months of Magh and Falgun. Birds are calling by sounding CHING CHING. I know that my parents will not look after me for long. But you are my dearest one and you would look after me for good.

Medicine is to prescribe on proper diagnosis of the disease. Seedle is to place on the horse back considering the temper of the horse. Now the spring is coming. But my youth time is becoming useless without you.

One day the longing waiting time comes really end. The beloved lovers meet together in the spring time. Then naturally both the lovers continue their conversations by expressing their deep love to each other. The male lover said to his lady lover :

KALI KUCHYAL PERELUNG

DHALA KUCHYAL PERELUNG

NANAN DEJHKUL BERELUNG

AJHAY AJHAY BAHAJHILUNG

BARIJHYA BAJKAL KEDELUNG.

NAPELUNG KIOJEN TAW-DHOKYA

KAME-KARJE TODKYA

RUBE-RANGE CHODAKYA

NAW-PELANG KIOJAN LAXMIREI

DEJHE-GANGE TAW-DHOKYA .

English rendering

As sugar cane juice is taken by moulding the sugar cane so as I have gathered my experience through pains and sorrows of my life. I travelled many countries. Sometimes I was carried with the tides of my hopes. Sometimes I had passed my tired youth.

But no where I had found so sweet like you. In my eyes I did not find so skilled and lovely woman like you any where. Oh dear, I had not seen so a lady of sanctity anywhere like you.

Hearing the praise of her beloved man the lady lover replied with her Shyness :

PUJOT DILUNG AKPADA

SUDHOT DILUNG GHARPADA

CHOGAT GULI TELNADA

JANACH KINEI KATTE SIYANI MAR DADA

English rendering : I offered the top of the leaf at the altar of my worship. I have choiced the surroundings of my house. You are very clever in your conversation, my dear. Are you not showing your deep sense of love by spreading some drops of oil in your eyes ?

In reply the man lover replied :

DELLUNG TARAKHAM GHARANAT
DHANUN KUJILUNG KHARANAT
NAGAN BAJILA CHARANAT
SE-DHOKYAN KADHAY LAXMIREI
DUKHAW NADICH PARANAT.
CHIGON MARJA NATANICH
AAJHA DINE PAJHA NAMARICH
AAJHA NINEI LAXMIREI
PAJHA MARE NAMARICH
GOJEN BANEL SIRITTI
MANEIYAR IDHU GIRITHI
LANGA - LANGNIR PIRITTI
JENAW BADOL GULI ARFITTI.

English rendering :

I have fixed the post named TARA in my house. I have cultivated in the Jhum amidst the heated sunshine. My dear, do not push my boat of the will to the barren land at this juncture to throw me in the claps of sorrows and sufferings.

Do not pull the small canes creeping hardly on the branches of the tree fruitlessly. Do not leave me giving prior hopes at this time. Do not leave me, my dear.

God created this creation. Man and woman create their family in this world with their utmost desire of eternal thinking bestowing the fragrance of love.

The Folk-games and sports :

The games and sports are meant for spending the leisure and having enjoyments of village-folks. It is also meant for growing skillness of the youths. The folk-games of the Chakmas are many in its kind. Among them some of the game items are almost similar to those of the other neighbouring tribals and non-tribals of Tripura. Upto certain age group, both the boys and girls play together. But with adolescence, segregation takes place. The playmates of boys and girls are generally belong to same age group. In Chakma language, the terminology of game is 'Khara'.

In this context, it is also mentionable that Chakmas believe a certain goddess for games and sports, named 'Ma-Chondi'. She is also worshipped as the goddess of warfare. In fact, some of the games are being considered as the fighting against the opponents rather than amusement.

All the game items of the Chakmas can be divided in two main groups :

a) Out-door games.

b) In-door games.

There are different types of out-door games such as:

1. Ghila khara

2. Nadeng khara

3. Gudu khara

4. Boli khara

5. Kani-dola mela-meli khari or yuddha-Bondi khara

6. Andhik khara

7. Kum-Vanga khara

8. Boda-bodi khara

9. Pun tuto-tuli khara

10. Mach khara

11. Por khara

12. Potti khara

13. Ari Khara

14. Kut-kut khara

15. Bilei kugur khara

16. Khut khara

17. Dhan-chol khara

18. Bach Thela-theli khara

The item of indoor games are :

1. Sejhak khara

2. Kowri khara

3. Peikh khara

4. Samuk khara

5. Pajha khara

6. Polla-polli khara

7. Kathol khara

Again, all the item of games of the Chakmas can be classified as per the following table - I.

Table - I

Sl. No.	Different group	Outdoor games	Indoor games
1	Both boys and girls (minor age)	1. Kut-kut khara	1. Polla-polli khara.
		2. Bilei-kugur khara	2. Kathol khara
		3. Khut Khara	3. Pidya. gola khara
		4. Dhan-chol khara (Water game)	
2	Boys (10-20 yrs age group)	1. Nadeng khara	1. Peikh khara
		2. Ghila khara	2. Samuk khara
		3. Gudu khara	
		4. Boda-bodi khara	
		5. Kani-dola Mela-meli Khara or yuddha Bondi khara	
		6. Andhik kara	
		7. Tir Khara	
		8. Pun-tulo-tuli Khara	

		9. Bach-Thela-theli Khara 10. Mach Khara (Water game) 11. Ari Khara (Water game) 12. Kum-vanga Khara 13. Por Khara	
3.	Girls (10-18 yrs. Age group)	1. Ghila Khara 2. Por Khara 3. Potti Khara 4. Pun tulo-tuli Khara 5. Kum vanga khara 6. Mach Khara (Water game)	1. Sejhok Khara 2. Kowri khara 3. Peikh khara 4. Samuk khara
4.	Married and aged man	1. Gudu Khara 2. Boli Khara	1. Pajha khara 2. Peikh khara

The brief description of some important games are given below :

1. Ghila Khara

This is the most popular game among the Chakma youths. It is generally played during the Bizhu festival by the boys and girls. In this regard it is worth mentioning here that there are the vivid descriptions of playing this typical game in the folk-ballad of the Chakmas, named "Radhamon-Dhanpudi Pala'. Obviously it became the most popular game to the

youths of Chakmas through the ages.

This game is played with large bean-like seed of thick, woody creeper (Botanical name - Entada Scandens). This bean-like seed is called ghila' by the Chakmas. But in some items of the same game the boys used the wooden or horn-made ghila in lieu of this indigenous seed.

The game is generally played in an open field or in a large courtyard in group-wise. It has different kinds of items of game like-1. Chondi Khara, 2. Tagal Khara, 3. Jhum Khata, 4. Biyong Khara, 5. Nokkruk Khara etc. Among these all items of games only the 'Chondi Khara' and 'Tagal Khara' are played by both the boys and girls. The other items are exclusively for the boys only due to its hard technic. Every item of game is codified with respective rules and regulations and directed with different stages or steps. The players should go through or cover up all the stages in order to complete the game and to decide victory or defeat.

2. Nadeng Khara

'Nadeng' is a spinning top made of hard wood. This playing implement is two sided tops, but one side has longer top. This longer top is spun with a thin rope. And holding the rope in its one edge the spinning top

is to be lifted on the ground. Then, naturally the game or the spinning top will start to spinning. Now, with another game which also spun with the rope have to throw targetting to heat the earlier one for stopping its spinning. The one who can stop the spinning earlier is considered as the winner.

3. Kani-dola-mela-meli khara

'kani-dola' means a ball made of cloths. And 'mela' means throwing. With this ball one should heat the other by throwing it. There are two parties to this game. Each party consisting of 10 to 12 boys of course, there is no fixed number of players at all. As per the rules of this game the two groups stand to the opposite direction of each other within the distance of 20 to 25 feets. In the middle point there is a straight mark on the ground which is called 'gang' (river). Then the first party will be selected for throwing the ball. A player of second party will come forward on the said 'gang' area to face the game. One player of the first party then will hit at his best with the ball by throwing it over the body of him. The said player of the second party who has come to face the ball will try to save himself from touching the ball on his body. If the thrower of the first party be able to touch him by throwing the ball, then this player of sccond party will be the prisioner of the first party. On the other term, the second also gets chance for throwing the ball. If they become success to hit a player of first party, then their fellow playmates will

be freed from the prisonment of first party. By this way, gradually one party of this game will be nil in their numbers of players. Obviously, this party will be treated as defeated and the other is the winner.

4. Gudu Khara

This game is almost similar to the Kabadi game.

5. Boli Khara.

It is an indigenous type of free style wrestling. This game is exclusively for the boys.

6. Polla-Polli Khara.

It is hide and seek game for the minor aged boys and girls.

Folk-medicine

Folk-medicine is an old and traditional means of curing diseases of any indigenous group of peoples of the world. It bears a wide range of resources which are mainly the herbs and animal substances. The village folk use it in a full faith as it has been empiricaled by their collective minds through the ages. But they also response simultaneously in some superstitious beliefs and habits, such as - magics, rituals, mantras or incantations and astrology for curative means of diseases. Like other indigenous

peoples the Chakmas also having a much adherence to using such folk-medicine and magico-religious practices as mentioned above. Beyond these two methods of folk-medicinal treatments, the Chakmas also practice an indigenous type of physiotherapy for healing the patients.

In this context, it is pertinent to mention that in Chakma society all kinds of folk-medicinal treatments are done by some particular professional medicine-men who are known as 'Boidya'. The Boidyas perform all the duties, like using of herbal folk-medicines, magico-religious activities or physiotherapic treatments as they feel necessary in regards to curing the patients. Obviously, the Boidyas are generally treated as very respected and inevitable persons in Chakma society. They also are regarded the most sagacious men, as because they practice some kind of occultism. They maintain a huge stock of Manuals of folk-medicine which are known the 'Tallik Shastras'. These books are written in Chakma character and designed with various obscure marks (the 'Aug' in Chakma language). Besides this, they used to preserve the written form of Mantras, the system of sacrificing activities, the method of physiotherapy and 'yogas' etc. These voluminous scriptures, in relating to the folk-medicine of Chakma society are known as 'Boidyali pudhi'.

Now we will discuss the processes how the Chakma folk traditionally use the folk-medicine for healing

the common diseases. First, herbal folk-medicinal treatment is given :

(A) Headache : (1) Bongal (a wild plant) leaves are ground and applied externally on the head. (2) Lajuri kher (mimosa pudica) is boiled and applied on the head. (3) Chidira-beishak (a small herbal plant) and Todekgilshak (hydrocdyle) leaves are ground and applied on the head.

(B) Fever : (1) Marech-shak (an edible plant) and Beishak (a small plant) roots are ground taken orally. (2) Shera kala (a wild bannana plant) juice are taken orally.

(C) Dysentery : (1) Young leaves of Arther and guava are taken orally. (2) The jelly substance of Ulu (Chalita in Begali) is taken orally, (3) The meat of goat is taken as food.

(D) Stomach pain : (1) Ginger and honey are mixed and taken orally. (2) Ketranga (a small herbal plant) leaves are ground and taken orally. (3) Thandamanek, (a tuber) is boiled and taken orally.

5. Cholera : Black coloured turmeric is taken orally.

(E) Catarrah : Basaka (a small plant) leaves are taken.

(F) Rheumatism : (1) The leaves of Padabach ludi

(gandhabatali in Bengal) and suger are mixed and taken orally. (2) Ghrita-kumari (the aloe) leaves and suger are ground and taken orally. (3) Oil of hornbil or python is used externally.

(G) Burn : (i) Oil of fowl are applied (2) The yolk of eggs to be used.

(H) Tooth ache : (1) Jujube and garjon (a wild tree) barks are boiled and gargling with the juice are done.

(I) Bleeding : (1) Sudhoma (a small plant) leaves are ground and applied externally. (2) Miyo (a wild plant) flower is to be burn and the asses is applied (3) the young leaves of Muguja (a wild plant) and the saliva are mixed and used externally.

(J) Stone case : kuro-joice (an aromatic medical herb) is ground and taken orally.

(K) Weak eye sight : (1) The jelly substance of snail to be used on the eye externally. (2) To prevent eye disease the year's first hail is put on the eye.

(L) Flatulence : The young leaves of ketranga (a herbal plant) and ginger are mixed and taken orally with the most intoxicating wine.

(M) Urinal track infection : The root of flax plant is boiled and taken orally.

(N) Scabies : Datura (a species of thorn-apple)

leaves are ground and used externally.

(O) Dog bite : (1) Papaya is cooked without oil and then eaten. (2) The egg-shell is pasted and then used externally. (3) Moli [one kind of tablet used for fermentation in the preparation of wine] is pasted and used externally.

(P) Bee bite : (1) Green chilly is applied on the bitten surface of the body. (2) Sneil line and honey are mixed and applied externally.

(Q) Boil : (1) Biskuju (a plant of arum family) stem and chindabas-kher (a small herbal plant) is mixed and used externally (2) Datura leaves are applied externally (3) The seed of Nageshwar flower, sulpher powder, blue vitrol and mustard oil are mixed and used externally.

(R) Opthalmia : The young leaves of Bagha-hadhala (a wild creeper) are boiled and used on the eye.

(S) Measles : Sugar Amila (a wild creeper) is taken orally.

(T) Bed-wetting : Mulipuk (one kind of edible water-insect) is fried and taken orally.

(U) Purperal diarrhea : A chamecleon is fried and taken orally. (2) The horn of rhinoceros is rubbed and taken orally with the juice is done. (3) The bile of porcupine is dried on fire and taken orally.

(V) Bone-fracture : The complete bones of a chicken are pasted and used externally.

(W) Grudge : Dattlong (a herbal plant) leaves are ground and used externally.

The above given list is very concise one. Actually there are huge numbers of herbal list of folk-medicine those which are used by the Chakmas as prescribed by the Boidyas to cure the common diseases. Considering the limited space many more are not listed here. Now attention may be drawn to the magico-religious folk-medicine.

Magico-religious Folk-Medicine :

The Chakmas are generally believe that there are many evil-spirits who become angry with anybody for which the illness effect upon him. Considering this general views the Boidyas prefer to prescribe for offering pujas or sacrificing rituals to appease the evil spirits. Diseases like cholera, plague, small pox or such kind of epidemic deseases are attributed to divine anger. Similarly, leprosy is believed to be a curse or effect of committing any sinful doing in earlier life. Moreover, diseases like madness, hysteria etc. are believed to be a designed of evil spirits or black-magic. For lealing of such diseases the Boidyas arranged some offerings, rituals, sacrifices, pujas, incantations, mantras or special prayers to appease the wrath of the evil spirit.

The Physiotheraphy :

This physioptherapy is more scientific than the method of magico-religious treatment as mentioned just earlier. This method is applied by the Boidyas with massaging the belly of patient in particular process. With applying this method they give relieve the pain of stomach, stiffness of the belly muscle, indigestion, constipation, flatulence etc. This method is very frequently applied by the Boidyas. In this regard, it is worth mentioning here that some aged women who mainly deal with the maternity or delivery case and known as "Ajha" in Chakma Society apply this method to the patients of pragnant woman and sufferer of purperal diarrhoea.

There is another method of treatment for healing the patient which may be called the 'hydropathic treatment' giving bath to the patient of fever by cold water is particular process the Boidyas cure the patient without medicine. this method is called in Chakma language as the 'Sinan'.

Moreover, the Boidyas also conduct a method of treatment by examining the pulse of the patient. And it is note worthy that to acquire this experience the Boidyas have to go through such a book named 'Yug-kalam' which is dealt with only the subject of human body and its pulse. This method is very tough one. It is almost relevant to the theme of "Kaya Sadhan" of Buddhist Tantricism.

Chapter - VII

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The Chakma Language

The Chakmas are undoubtly the Mongoloid origin. But according to the philologists, their language is being considered as an off-shot of Indo-Aryan language-group in its present characteristics. Obviously, it is a matter of puzzling indeed. Therefore it may not be out of place to infer that from very earlier times their language have surely under went into a radical change by the inevitable influence of Indo-Aryan languages.

In respect of the present Chakma vocabulary or basic wood-stock it may be rightly observed that it contains a huge store of words which are originally belonging to Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit etc. of old Indo-Aryan (OIA) languages, as well as Bengali, Assamese, Hindi, etc. of the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages. Moreover, many Chakma words are identical in use with the Tibeto-Burman and the Tibeto-Chinese languages, such Tibetan, Arakanese or Burmese, Ahom, Thai, Kadai, Bodo, Tripuri etc. In case of grammatical character, the Chakma language also retain a distinct affinity with the both linguistic in groups as mentioned earlier.

In this regard, it is worthy to mention here that the Chakma language is generally treated as a dialect

or sub-dialect of Bengali. Mr. G. A. Grierson, an eminent philologist of British India, has identified that Chakma language as a "Sub-dialect of Eastern Bengali". But the present Chakma writers are intended to oppose these views. Mr. Niranjan Chakma, a writer of Chakma society in Tripura, has denied strongly in his article as titled "Highlights of Chakma Language and Literature", published in the souvenir of "North Eastern Literary Conference 1994" (Agartala, Tripura). He opined that : Although Chakma language and Bengali language have attained similarity and mutual intelligibility, one of them can not be called the dialect of the other. This similarity or intelligibility has certainly and inevitably occured mainly due to co-existance or living geographical contiguity for a long time. But in fact, these two languages do not belong to common ancestry. " He also argued in favour of seperate entity of Chakma language that : "Chakma language has undergone a unique transformation in respect of evolution which is quite different from those of Eastern Bengali dialects. In addition to this the language being nurtured is geographically isolated but compact Chakma area with Royal patronage in Chittagong Hill Tracts and in etymological or ethnolinguistic phenomenon and with its own grammatical forms and indigenous written characters, can rightly be claimed to be a separate language. In this regard, therefore, I like to suggest that the said nomenclature used in respect of Chakma language by Mr. Grierson seems to be re-examined."

Now we shall discuss some important grammatical forms of Chakma language.

Chakma Alphabets

The Chakmas have got separate and distinct alphabets of their own which are identical to some extent the Burmese alphabets as well as the Old Brahmi alphabets. In Chakma language the alphabets are called "Ahrog" (In this regard a detail discussion will be made in the next proceeding pages).

The articulation of the Chakma alphabets are as follows :

1. Place of articulation

a) Labial	– Pa, Ba. Ma
b) Dental	– Ta, Tha, Da, Dha, Na
c) Alvelor	– Ra, La, Ja
d) Alveopalatal	– Cha, Sha, Sa, Ya
e) Palatal	– Ya
f) Velar	– Ka, Ga, nga
g) Glottal	– Kha, Gha, Ha

2. Manner of articulation

a) Plosive – Ga, Da

b) Frictative –

(i) Slite – Ha, Pa, Ka.

(ii) Grove – Sha, Sa

c) Affricate –

(i) Palatal affricate – Cha

(ii) Alveolar affricate – Chha

Article

In Chakma language the definite or indicative article is used by adding the words – "Ua, Vua, 'aan', 'un', 'gun', 'aani', 'daghi', etc. following the noun. These are also used with the changing of numbers. Such as,

1. Ek + Ua = Ekkua (The one)

Tin + Ua = Tinnua (The three)

Ekkua Manuch = (One man)

Tinnua goru = (Three cows)

2. Manuch + Ua = Manuchhua (The man)

Gach+Ua = Gachhua (The tree)

3. Mila + Vua = Milavua (The woman)

kugur + vua = Kugurvua (The dog)

4. Ek + aan = Ekkan (The one)

Tinnan adam = (Three village)

5. Ghar + aan = Gharan (The house)

Adam + aan = Adaman (The village)

The using of articles change with the changing of numbers :

Singular number	Plural number
1. Pua (the son)	Puagun (The sons)
Mila (The daughter)	Milagum (The daughters)
Gach (The tree)	Gachhum (The tress)
Mach (The fish)	Machhum (The fishes)
2. Ghar (The house)	Gharani (The houses)
Adam (The village)	Adamani (The villages)

3. Gavur (The young) Gavurlok (The youths)

Mila (The woman) Milalok (The women)

Gender

For words denoting human beings in distinct forms are used, with the particle 'a', 'ya', 'dhan', 'bana', for males and ni, bi, pudi, bani for females.

Masculine Gender	Feninine Gender
Bhula (The foolish boy)	Bhuli (The foolish girl)
Buba (The dumb boy)	Bubi (The dumb girl)

Pronouns

The following are personal pronouns :

I - Mui	We - Ami
My - Mor	Our - Amar
Me - Mey	Us - Amarloi
You - Tui	You (pl) - Tuhmi
Your - Tohr	Your (pl) - Tohmar
He - Tehy	To you - Tohrey

His - Tohr

They - Tahra

Him - Tarhey

Their - Tahrar

Demonstrative Pronouns

This - Eyan

This way - Engiri

It - Eyan

That way - Singiri

That - Siyan

Here - Edhu

Interrogative Pronouns :

Who - Kanna

Whose -

What - Ki

Where - Kudhu

Which - Kuyon

When - Kakkey

Whom - Kahrey

Why - Kithei

Its - Eyanor

How - Kingiri

Adverbs :

1. Adverbs of times :

Yesterday - Gelle kelya

Toady - - Echya

Tomorrow - Kelya

The day after tomorrow - Ejette porsu

The day before yesterday - Gelle Porsu

Three days - Tin din dohori

Formerly - Agendi

Now-a-day - Eruk

Always - Ansur

Again - Privor/Ullofiri

Now - Ekkhunu

Then - Jeredi

When - Kakke

After - Jere

Before - Akke/agori

Daily - Pottidin

One day - Ekdin

At once - Tokkhanat

Quickly - Tagot gori

Soon - Jhadhi

Suddenly - Avadhagori

Never - Noy

Hence forward - Ettundhori jerendi

Last night - Gelle reidot

To night - Echya reidot

At evening - Sajhanya

At cockrow - Potyarajit

At the morning - Pottya Savore

2. Adverbs of place

Every where - Bekkanat

Some where - Konokkanat

Any where - Jekonokkanat

Else where - Jidupai

Here - Edhu

Far - Durot

Above - Ugurey

Below - Toley

Before - Agori

Behind - Pijhendi

There - Sidhu

On this side - Endhi

On that side - Sendhi

Near - Kure

Within - Hanjhamey

Between - Serey

Outside - Bahrendi

3. Adverbs of Manner :

How - Kingiri

Thus - Seyney

Slowly - Lahrey gori

Truly - Nittagey/Jechhot gori

Wholly-Tojimgori

Merely - Kalik

Acdidentaly - Avadhagori

Well - Gom

Badly - Vanneigori

Attentively - Mondi

Equally - Songgori

Slightly - Ettukgori

Alone - Gay

4. Post - positions :

Across - Ovala

After - Jere

At - aat

For - Tei/Siyancy

Except - Biditto, Badey

In - Serey

Because of - Siyaney

Before - Agehdi

Behind - Pijhendi

With - Somarey/logey

Inside - Vedirendi

To - Kitya

Under- Modhey

Conjunctions :

And - aah

Also - O

But - Mattar

Except - Biditto, badey

Perhaps - Parapang

That - Je

Interjection:

Assent - Ehee ! Hoi !

Joy - Hoyee ! EE-hu-hu !

Greief - Oma ! Madho ! Hodha ! Mogoda !

Amusement - Ha-ha !

Approval - Sabach ! Saroch !

Weariness - Ihhee ! Mare-ma!

Attention - Cha-dei ! Endhi-O ! Shinish - O !

To call - Oyi ! Endhi-O !

Disgust - Duur ! Dhut !

Doubt - Hoy-ni ! Holevo !

Contempt - Ecch ! Chhi !

Interrogatives :

What are you doing ?	- Tui ki goror ?
Will you do it ?	- Tui eyan goribeny ?
Will you do it or not ?	- Tui eyan goribe naa Nagoribe ?
Did you truthfully say that ?	- Tui eyan jechyet gori kor nena ?
Shall I come ?	- Mui edhung ni ?
Are you well ?	- Tui gom aagoch ni ?

Adverbs of Time :

Never – Noi

Or – Nolen

Yet – Tuo

Once more – Ullo firi

Again – Prrvor/nuogori

Afterwards – Jerethundhori

Cases of nouns and pronouns :

1. Nominative case – Arune bazarat jeba

2. Objective case – Jadure daga

3. Possessive case – Iyan Jadur ghar

4. Vocative case – Mita, ay.

Roots

To be - Aha To sing- Ga

To take - La, To eat - Kha

To keep - Tha To get - Pa

To speak - Ka To see - Cha

To go - Dya	To catch - Dhar
To take - Nya	To write - Lekh
To make do - Gara	To make read - Para
To show - Dekha	To make know - China

Declension of Adam

1. Nominative - Adam

2. Agentive - Adamloi

3. Genetive - Adamot

5. Adlative - Adamattun

6. Dative - Adamattei

7. Accusative - Adamaree

An outline of the Origin of the Chakma Script

Due to lack of archeological remmants or inscriptional antiquity we are in a fix to say when and how the art of reading and writing was started in the Society of the Chakmas. But some religious scruptures written in Chakma Character are found. The manuscripts were written on Palm-leaves which are known as AGAR-TARA to the Chakmas. Besides these religious

scriptures we have some traditional ballads and a large number of folk medicine books. The traditional ballads were composed by the country poets. The folk medicine books written in the same character are known as BAIDYALI PUDHI. In present days also the village quacks in all parts of chakma populated areas both in India and Bangladesh are still preserving and using the books of Chakma folk medicine.

The Agartara scriptures and the Baidyali Pudhi are the main sources to find out the antiquity of Chakma scripts. Rangamati was the capital of the then Chakma Kingdom and in the palace at Rangamati the palm leave scriptures are to be found. This is situated in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh.

The eminent anthropologist and folk-lorist Dr. Dulal Choudhury referred to the above mentioned scriptures in his book, "CHAKMA PRABAD" published in 1980 from Calcutta in India. But Dr. Choudhury consults neither with the written character of the scripts nor the antiquity of the Chakma Scripts. So we are to depend on the traditionbal belief for the evidences and traditional beliefs. We can presume that the scriptures were written Chakma six to seven hundred years ago. So it can be easily presumed that the practice of using scripts was in vougue in the Chakma Society about six to seven hundred years ago.

The most eminent British Phililogist of India

languages Dr. G. A. Grierson gave factual information regarding the Chakma scripts for the first time in his renowned book, "Linguistic Survey of India" published in 1901 and onwards from Calcutta. In his books Dr. Grierson successfully explored almost all the languages and dialects prevailing in British India. Describing the Characteristic features of Chakma language Dr. Grierson remarked on Chakma script that, "It is written in an alphabet, which allowing for its cursive forms, is almost identical with the Khmer character which was formerly in use in Cambodia, Laos, Annam, Siam and, at least, the southern part of Burma. The Khmer alphabet is, in its turn, the same as that which was current in the south of India in the sixth and seventh centuries. Burmese character is derived from it, but a much more corrupted from than the Chakma."

In another volume of his book Dr, Grierson remarked, "The Ahom alphabet is an old form of that which, under various forms, is current for Khmati, Shan, Burmese and Chakma. It is more complete than those of Khmamti and Shan but not so complete as those of Burmese and Chakma."But Dr. Grierson did not mention the antiquity of the Chakma scripts. He did also not mention the Chakma palm-leave scriptures, ballads, folk medicine books or other literary documents written in Chakma Character which were prevailing in the Chakma Society for a great span of period in the past. Perhaps he depended on the materials and information as supplied by half educated and not well versed British servants

belonging to Chakma Community. So Dr. Grierson could not ventilate adequately the antiquities of Chakma Script. Besides Dr Grierson no other eminent philologist gave authentic information regarding the beginning of Chakma scripts describing its character till today. Hence this matter is to be dealt with a wide retrospect.

To quote Mr. Niranjan Chakma, a writer and well versed in tribal languages, the prominent chracteristics of the Chakma Scripts can be mentioned as follows :

1. This script is written from left to right like the other Indian and European Scripts.

2. The vowel inherent in each component is not 'a' as in other Indian Scripts, but 'å'. The same thing occurs in the Burmese alphabet.

3. The letters in this alphabet are made in round shape and almost in same propotionate size and height. This type of round shaped letters can be found in South Indian Alphabet as well as Burmese alphabet.

4. The letters are set up as straight as possible like other Indian alphabets which originated from Brahmi Script.

5. The vowels signs are indicated by the ticks attached to the top, bottom or both sides of the consonant

letters when it is required in expressing the Vowel Sound in making the words.

6. In the Chakma alphebets, the basic forms of the vowels are almost physically absent except for the letter 'a'. They are being used in their initial forms in the words. But, in case of expressing the vowels sound in their individual manner, they can be used being attached to their respective Vowel-Signs to the letter 'a'. By this way, all the Vowel letters can be represented by a single Vowel 'a'. This particular system is to be traceable in the Khmer and sometimes in the Nagari Character.

7. It is the most noticeable that there is a vowel sign for the vowel 'a', which is being used by marking a verticle short stroke i.e. (I) on the top of the consonent which looks like an appendage of the letter. On the other hand, the initial form of the vowel 'a' is quite absent in this alphabet. Because each consonent is inherent in itself with the Vowel Sound 'a' as it has been mentioned earlier.

8. The script is less burdened by the conjunction of letters in comparison to the other Indian scripts. Of course, we find some words are being written by the conjunctional letters, particularly in case of writing some of the loan words of Sanskrit, Prakrit or the other contemporary Indian Languages. Obviously, the Chakma script is more simple than that of the other Indian Scripts.

9. For avoiding the ligature of cinjunctional letters a horizontal short stroke i.e. (-) is used on the top of the letter in the mode of writting of Chakma Script. In this system, we can easily set up one or two consonant letters in framing a word without helping of any vowel-sign. This particular system is common in practice now-a-days in Devnagari script in a little different manner, specially in writting of Sanskrit Language. For example, the ending of a world is indicated by a short diagonal stroke, thus, (/) at the bottom of a consonant letter. This sign virtually signifies the stressing of a consonant without adding a Vowel-Sign.

10. This script is containing its own numeral figures.

11. It consists of the marks of punctuation. Thus, I (single verticle stroke), II (Double verticle strokes and : (a distinct mark of colon. The first mark is used at the last point of a horizontal framing line and the second one is used at the last point of paragraph. But, it is noteworthy that this mark is also common in practice in writing of poetry which stands on both the points of beginning and finishing of a line. The last mark is used like a comma.

12. The catelogue of this alphabet begins from the first letters of guttural consonant while the other Indian alphabet starts from the short vowel.

Considering the above mentioned characteristics of

the Chakma scripts it can easily be concluded derivatives that the Chakma scripts are basically of the ancient Indian Brahmi Script. If we pay more attention to the style and character of the Chakma Scripts then we will find that this script resembles mostly the ancient Southen Indian Brahmi Script like Pallavi Script or present Tamil and Malayalam Script which originated from the Pallavi Scripts. Hence we can draw an inference that in ancient times while the Chakmas were living in the Arakanian regions. Their scripts may have evolved from and under the influence of the Mon-Khmer or the Burmese scripts, probably upto the 13th century, i.e. preceeding the period of their advent into the Chittagong in the 14th century.

This heritage of the Chakma alphabet has been inspiring the Chakmas in recent times and they have been demanding introduction of the Chakma alphabets for elementary education officially by the Govrnment. It is known that the Autonomous District Council of Mizoram has introduced the Primary Education with the Chakma alphabets in the automonous district.

In Tripura also the demand has been raised from 1984 to introduce the Primary Education with Chakma alphabets to facilitate the spreading of primary education through mother tongue. But for some reasons the Government of Tripura has not yet implemented this demand in the sphere of primary

education. In this context it is said that the educated Chakmas of Tripura are unanimously of the opinion favouring introduction of the Chakma alphabets for their children in necessity of elementary education keeping in view the great necessity of elementary education through the mother tongue. In this sphere we are of the opinion that though it is difficult to apply a proto-type alphabet at the modern mechanism of the press yet it is to be mentioned that every tribe or race is not in a position to give up the traditional cultural heritage whether in the sphere of alphabets or in other cultural aspects.

CHAKMA ALPHABETS (VOWELS)

(CHANGMA GAI MATYA ARAG)

TALMWA - Ā

Ā - UBOR TULYAH-A

Ā-BANYAH-E

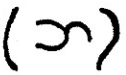
Ā-BANEE
PHODO DILEH - EE

Ā-Ī-EKTAN
DILEH-U

Ā-Ī-DWITAN
DILEH - OO

Ā-DHEL
BHANGILE-AI

Ā-Ī-EKAR
DILEH-E



Ā-Ī-OKAR
DILEH-O

Ā-Ī-OOKAR
DILEH-OU

Ā-Ī-EKPHUDO
DILEH - ANG

Ā-Ī-DWIPHUDO
DILEH - AI

CHAKMA ALPHABETS (CONSONANTS)

(CHANGMA BALE MATYA ARAG)

CHUCHYANGYA
KA

GUJANGYA
HA

CHANDYA
GA

TINDALLYA
GHA

CHILEMUO
NGA

DIDACHYA
CHA

MAJARA
CHHA

DIPADALA
JA

UROURI
JHA

CHILOSYA
NA

THUTYA
TA

DUOBANYAH
THA

ADHU BHANGA
DA

LEJ BHOREYA
DHA

PETTUOA
NA

GHANGADAT
TA

JAGADAT
THA

DULONIT
DA

TALMUO
DHA

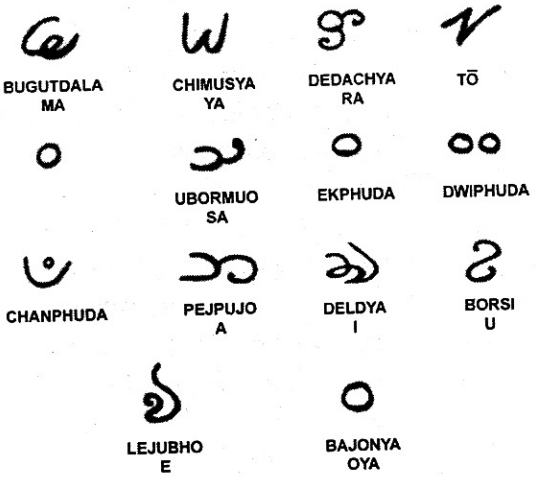
PHARBANYAH
NA

PALLYA
PA

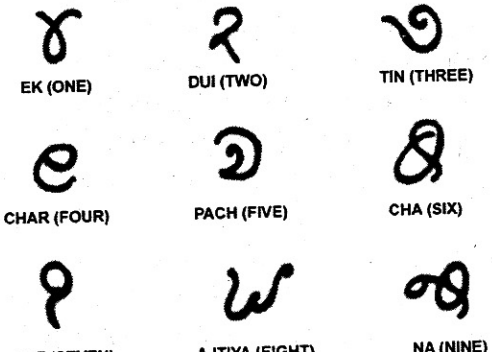
LEJ BHOREYA
PHA

UBOR
MUO BA

CHERDALYAH
BHA



CHAKMA NUMERALS



Chakma Literature

Chakma literal granary may be grouped in two branches. These are written literature and oral literature. In the first branch of literature there are traditional ballads as composed by the ballad singers named GENGKHULI . In this branch there are also traditional folk verses, TALLIK SHASTRAS (Book for medicines), religious scriptures and heroine statements of weal and woes as described by month by month etc. In the oral literature folk Verses or cradle songs , Riddles, Proverbs, Folk Tales and Folk songs may be included.

For illustrating the first group of literature i.e. the written literature it is necessary to deal with the Chakma traditional ballads. Composers of these ballads were the chakma ballad singers who would sing on the plots of past heroic battles or events of gallantry or on the memorable love stories. These were sung by the ballad singers named GENGKHULI in the village functions. So in the ancient times these ballads were not in written forms. These were being carried from the GURU (preceptor) to the disciple purely on the basis of hearing the ballads. For this reason sometimes the ballads were in formatic change of language in course of the evolutional changes of the Society. Later on these were kept in chakma language in written form for preservation. Before preservation in written forms some ballads had gone out of memory from the Society. However, the folk

literatures which are found at present in Chakma Society may be described as follows :

1. Radhamon - Dhanapati Pala

2. Chadigang - Chhara Pala

3. Lakkhi Pala

4. Lorbua - Midungi Pala

5. Langya - Languni Pala

Among the Chakma Genkhuli palas the most favourite pala is Radhamn-Dhanapati Pala. This pala was composed on the love story of the two lovers named Radhamon and Dhanapati. The two Chakma immemoriable lovers may be compared with the lovers of Romio and Juliet, Layla and Majnu, Chandidas and Rajakini, Shire and Forhad etc.

Chadigang Chhara pala was composed mainly on the later part of Radhamon Dhanapudi pala. The social and family narratives of Radhamon-Dhanapati, the expedetion of Radhamon in favour of the Chakma king and the narratives of this gallantry fights against the enemy were beautifuly depicted in the Chadigang Chhara Pala. Some Chakma historians consider this pala as an historical ballad. Really some historical references are found in this ballad. This ballad is very favourite in the Chakma Society.

Lakkhi Pala is composed with the cosmological factulities of the Universe, the Earth, the Human race of the world. In this Pala we find the description of the Jhum Cultivation, the advent of Lakki from the heaven, the symbols of a good house wife etc.

In the Larbuya-Midungi Pala we find the tragic ending of the love episode of Larbuya and Midungi. Besides this, in the Langya - Langyni Pala the narratives of love story of Langya and Langyni are depicted.

Folk Verse

Among written Chakma literature folk verses are very rich. Comparatively this branch of Chakma literature is very developed. In this branch we find the Chakma traditional beliefs, social taboos, etc. which are the material of Folk Culture of a tribe or a race. Although these were based on offering of PUJAS, prayers and devotions to the gods yet the verses were composed with execellent literal skillness and audio sweetness. The compositional time is not known to these. But it may be said that these were created with the growing needs of the Society ; but with the changing of the Society the form of the language was also changed in these verse. But in the later period these were kept in written form with the advant of writting scripts. At present in Chakma Society there remains rich treasure, written folk verses. In ancient time these were written in the books of palm leaves

or BHURJYA leaves. Besides these written verses are found on the skins of animals or scripts were depicted on the bamboo plates or wooden plates. In modern times these are written in the books made of paper. The village quacks named BAIDYA are still consulting these folk verses as the remedy of the disease on the process of transmitting of the knowledge from the GURU to the follower.

We find the Hindu and the Budda influence in these verses to a great extent. The references of Hindu gods and goddesses are found in the verses.

We find also the names of the gods and goddesses ot the Budda worshipers in accordance with the tantras.

For examples we are citing some of them :

1. De-re Ganga, De-re pani, 2. Abuj manei shuddha garong, 3. Shuddha gori padhang ghar 4. Mar nang Shib-Shankar, 5. Juro Chhara juro pani, 6. Suran garong urongmani, 7. Sujong naley varong pani 8. A-buj manei Suddha garong 9. Shuddha gori padhang ghar 10. Mar nang Shib-Shankar.

English rendering : Mother Ganga, give me water. I shall purify the unreasonable human race with water and I shall send them to their house after purifying them. I am shib-Shankar. Give me water from your cooled stream. I am remembering you. I shall fill my pitcher from the flow of pure water. I shall send them

to the house. My name is Shib-Shankar.

2. Malumetty thidhi garong

Akchakra ghila,

Di-hathey thidhi garong

Ingila-Pingila,

Di-Padey thidhi garong

Susarma-gandhari

Dhari agey Mahaprabhu

Eyi chero nadi

Keya charma dhari agey

Deba Birochan

In this verse we find the names of the gods are Mahaprabhu (Shiva), Bisnu, Niranjan. Birachan etc. Birachan is the god in the religion of Buddism in accordance with the tantras. Besides, here the knowledge of nervous system is revealed.

The books of Medicine :

To describe the books of medicine the names of two

books may be mentioned. These are YUG-KALAM and VED-KALAM. In these two scriptural epics the mystery of the Mantras and the remedial facts of diseases are described resectively. In the first epic Siva narrated the origin and sources of MANTRAS to the goddess Durga. In this the glory and inhumanial power of Gorakshanath, the guru of the Nath-Yogis, is beautifully depicted. In the Ved-Kalam the nervous system of the human body and the remedial means by YOGA are described.

AGAR-TARA

Agartara is an ancient scripture of the Chakmas or a philosophical code of this tribes. This is composed more than five hundred years ago. The style of Burmise prose and poetic forms also seen in Agartara. This is written in corrupt Pali language as the results of copying in numerous times. This Chakma scripture is used in times of performing rituals. Originally Scriptures are used in times of performing of Hinajani Buddhism. But later on Buddha-tantra-jans influenced greatly on this scripture. In modern times it is almost impossible to make understand this scripture as it was written in corrupt languages. It is known that this scripture contains twenty-eight chapters. Among these only twenty one chapters are found now-a-days. In ancient times the Saints named LORI would read MANTRA (magical hymn) from this book in time of performing rituals of dead-body. They also cited the verses from this book in the

marriage ceremony and for performing the worship to Buddha etc.

AGARTARA, the old religious book of the CHAKMAS, contains in twentyeight volumes. They are as follows:

Sl. No.	Name of the TARA	Meaning
01.	AGAR TARA	Religious Sutta
02.	MALEM TARA	Mongal Sutta is generally used in Social and Religious ceremonies.
03.	SADENG-GIRI TARA	Description about Sadeng Giri Raja.
04.	ANNICHA TARA	Teaching about ANNITYA in human life.
05.	SEE MOGAL TARA	Jay Mongal Sutta
06.	DOSO PARAMI TARA	To be used in rituals in PINDI DAN in reverence to a departed soul.
07.	TRIKUNDA TARA	Trikunda TARA
08.	BARA KURUK, CHOTO KURUK	It is used in Social Ceremonies

09. TALLIK SHASTRA TARA	It is used for preparing medicines against disease.
10. ARISTAMA TARA	This is used in PINDI DANA in reverance to a departed soul of high rank.
11.RAKEN FUL TARA	This is used in annual reverance to a departed soul.
12. SAHAS FUL TARA	This is used in social customary ceremonies.
13. ARINAMMA TARA	This is used in marriage ceremony.
14. JYON HARAN TARA	This is used in social customary ceremonies.
15. ANJINA TARA	- Do -
16. PUDUM FUL TARA	-Do -
17. FUDUM FUL TARA	-Do-
18. SAVA DIBA TARA	- Do -
19. CHERAK FUL TARA	- Do -
20. CHANENG FUL TARA	- Do -

21. BUDDHA FUL TARA - Do -

22. SAK SUTTAN TARA - Do -

23. RAJA HORA TARA - Do -

24. SARAK DAN TARA - Do -

25. SUBA DIJJYA TARA - Do -

26. SAKYA TARA - Do -

27. FAKIRI TARA - Do -

28. ANGARA SUTRA TARA - Do -

BUDDHA LAMA

This is composed as based on the Sadheng-giri Chapter of the scripture of Agartara. In it the Buddha Hinajani influence is greatly seen. The artistic skill of the composition of the verses, the rhythms, the similes and metaphores are used marvellously. In this scriptures the nature and results of the works of a man in this world or outside of this world are narrated.

GOJEN LAMA

The Gojen Lama as composed by Shib-Chara Chakma is very favourite in the Chakma Society. It is

composed on religions lines. The composition period of this is about 1777 A.D. In this ballad the poet prayed to Gojen (God) for having fourfold results namely religion, money, aspiration and salvation. Gojen Lama contains seven chapters. In Chakma Language Lama means chapters of a book.

Besides the above mentioned scriptures the village Chakma poets composed many heroic songs of twelve months. These were composed having been greatly influenced by the Bengali Mangal-Kabyas and heroic songs of twelve months. So numerous Bengali words were used in these ballads. However, among theses Chandabi BARA MASH, Meyabi BARA MASH, Rangpudi BARA MASH, Kirbyabi BARA MASH and Tanyabi BARA MASH are very famous.

CHAKMA MODERN LITERATURE :

From the middle of the twentieth century the advent of the Chakma Literature takes place. During the period from 1935 to 1982 in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong a monthly periodical was published in Chakma and Bengali languages with Chakma Queen-mother Binita Roy as editor and great patroniser. The title of this periodical was GARIKA in which the Chakma Writers wrote essays, short stories, poems in Chakma Language. From thence in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong the Chakma Literature came into practice. In Tripura the modern Chakma Literature flourished gradually from 1973 with the publication

of irregular literal periodical with the title DALAK edited by Sri Niranjan Chakma and Sri Ṣukumar Chakma from North Tripura. From this time many periodicals named SADAK, PILE-VENGUR, TALABICH, BIZHU, JANGAL, TUDUNG, NIJHENI, LARBUYA, BARGI etc. were published as edited by the various reputed writers. Among these periodicals some were regularly and some were irregularly published. From 1984 a fortnightly periodical named Tripura Sadak edited by Sri Niranjan Chakma started being published from the Deptt. of Information, Cultural and Tourism under the Govt. of Tripura. Besides this, the Language Cell of the School Education Department under the Govt. of Tripura has been publishing a three-month periodical named "Sadarak" with Sri SumanKumar Chakma and Smt. Aninda Barna Chakma as editors of the periodicals.

The names of the writers who are contributing to the Chakma Literature with their writing in these periodicals are Sri Niranjan Chakma, Janesh Ayan Chakma, Chakma Asim Roy, Bhabanti Bikash Chakma, Bimal Mohan Chakma, Banshishikha Chakma, Gautam Chakma, Pantha Chakma, Lalit Chakma, Priti Kusum Chakma, Anil Chakma, Mohini Mohan Chakma, Anil Baran Chakma and many others.

From 1973 till today more than thirty books have been published in Chakma Language on the subjects

covering poems, essays, dramas, rhymes etc. Now the trend of Chakma literature is advancing very rapidly to venture into new horizons in different fields of modern Chakma Literature.

CHKMA	ORIYA	ASSAMESE	BENGALI
ENGLISH			
01 EK	EAK	EAK	EK
ONE			
02 DUI	DUI	DUI	DUI
TWO			
03 TIN	TINI	TINI	TIN
THREE			
04 CHAR	CHAR	CHARI	CHAR
FOUR			
05 PACH	PANCH	PASS	PACH
FIVE			
06 CHAY	CHHA	CHAT	CHHAYA
SIX			
07 SAT	SAT	CHAT	SAT
SEVEN			
08 ASTO	ATH	ATH	AAT
EIGHT			
09 NA	NA	NA	NAY
NINE			
10 DASH	DAS	DAH	DASH
TEN			
11 TUI		JUMI	TUMO
YOU			
12 MUI	MU	MAI	AMI
13 TOI	SE	SHEE	SE
HE			
14 AMI	AME	AMI	AMAR

WE			
15 THANG, PAO FOOT	PADA	THENG	PA,THENG
16 MADHA HEAD	MUNDA	MUR	MATHA
17 MA MOTHER	MA	MA	MA
18 BAB FATHER	BAPA	BETA	BABA
19 MARD MAN	MANISH	MANUSH	MANUS
			MARD
20 MILA WOMAN	MAIKINA	MAHILA	MAHILAA
21. JAMAI HUSBAND	PATI	PATI	PATI
22 MEEG WIFE	STREE	STREE	STREE
23 MARAD SON	PUTRA	LORA	PUTRA
			CHELE
24 JHI DAUGHTER	JIA	JEE	JHI
25 AN BRING	ANIBA	ANA	AN
26 KHA EAT	KHIBA	KHOWA	KHA
27 AJANA COME	ASHIBA	AHA	ASOA
28 MARA DIE	MARIBA	MORA	MARA
29 GAM GOOD	BHALA	BHAL	BHALO

30 BAJANG BAD	BHARAP	BEYA	KHARAP
31 TAWLE DOWN	TALO	TOLOT	NICHE
32 KAY NEAR	NIKATA	ORCHARAT	KACHE
33 UGURE UP	UPANA	UPOROT	UPURE
34 PADA SEND	PATHAIBA	PATHAO	PATHAO
35 PARAN-DEAR NO	PRIYA	MORMOR	PARAN
36 BELYA EVENING	SANDHYA	GODHUTI	BIKAL
37 PRATA MORNING	SAKALA	PATIPUA	SAKAL
38 JANA GO	JIBA	JOWA	NJAO, JA
39 PUYA CHILD	PIPA	LORA	CHHOTA
40 BHON SISTER	BHUNI	BHAND	CHHELE BHAIN

CHAKMA	ASSAMESE	BENGALI	ENGLISH
AK	AK	PRATHAM	FIRST
AKKE	AGATE	PURAKALE	ANCIE-NT TIME IN
AGAU	AGAM	AGRIM	ADVANCE OF PAYMENT

ANGUL FINGER	ANGUL	ANGULI
ACHAMI CULPRIT	AJHAMI	ASAMI
IJJAT PRESTIGE	IJOYT	SAMMAN
AYU AGE	AYU	AAYU
ALACH END	ALACH	SHES
ALJHI LAZY	ALSI	ALAS
ADHYA USELESS	ADHYA	ANARTHAK
ADAR SCENT	ATAR	ATAR
AJHA HOPE	AJHA	ASHA
AGELA ALONE	EKLA	EKELA
UDHAN YARD	UDHAN	UTHAN
UBASANA PRAYER	UPASANA	UPASANA
UNDUR RAT	UNDUR	INDUR
EGATTARA UNITED	EKATTAR	EKATRA
KACH SOUR	KACH	TAK
KACHYA YOUNG	LACHYA	LACHI
AH YES	AH	HNA

AHMA VAST	AHMA	PRAKANDA
AKTH TIME	AKT	SAMAY
AKAL BAD-DAYS	AKAL	AKAL
AGAU INADVANCE	AGAM	A G R I M
AGADH ABUNDANT	AGADH	A G A D H
ACHIN UNKNOWN	ACHINA	APARICHITA
ACHAL BACKDATED	ACHAL	A C H A L
AJAL HIGH	AJAL	UCHCHA
AJAB SAP COBRA	AJAGAR	AJAGAR
AJAT SCOUNDREL	AJAT	AJAT
AJAMIL ROGUE	AJAMIL	DURANTA
AJGA VILLAGE DOCTOR	AJHA	BAIDYA
ATAL ENDLESS	ATAL	ATAL
ADHICH GUEST	ATITHI	ATITHI
ADBHUT WONDERFUL	ADBHUT	ADBHUT
ADHIKAR AUTHORITY	ADHIKAR	ADHIKAR
ANACHAR	ANACHAR	ANACHAR

UNSCRIP-TURAL		
ANTAR	ANTAR	ANTAR
HEART		
ANUMAN	ANUMAN	ANUMAN
ASSUMPTION		
KANEHAT	ANUJ	KANISTH
YOUNGER		
APAMAN	APAMAN	APAMAN
INSULT		
ABYRTHA	ABYRTHA	ABYRTHA
SURE		
ABUJ	ABUJ	ABUJH
INNOCENT		
AKKAL	AKKAL	AKKAL
SENSE		
ADHA	ADHA	ARDHEK
HALF		
KAJHAI	KACHAI	KASAI
BUTCHER		
KAL	KAL	KAL
SEASON		
KAYEDI	KAYEDI	KAYEDI
PRISONER		
KAYLA	KAYLA	KAYLA
COAL		
KALA	KALA	KALA
BANANA		
KAM	KAM	KAM
WORK		
SAGON	SABAWN	SABAN
SOAP		
SAWJ	SAHAJ	SAHAJ
EASY		

LUYA	LOHA	LOHA
IRON		
NUNJH	LONA	LONTA
SALTY		
SADAGAR	SADAGAR	SADAGAR
MERCHANT		
LO	LO	LO
BLOOD		
LECH	LECH	LEJ
TAIL		
LEKHEYA	LEKHAK	LEKHAK
WRITER		
LAREH	LAHE	CHINHA
SIGN		
LADI	LATI	LATA
CREEPER		
RUITYAN	ROHITAN	RAHITAN
DIMOND		
REJHAM	REJHAM	RESHAM
SILK		
RUBA	RUPA	RUPA
SILVER		
RET	RATI	RATRI
NIGHT		
RAK	RAK	RAG
ANGER		
RAJHI	RACHI	RASI
ROPE		
RANGA	RAWNGA	RANGA
RED		
RAW	RAW	SHABDA
SOUND		
JUR	JOR	JORA
PAIR		

MUKHIK ORAL	MOUKHIK	MOUKHIK
JAMA TWIN	JAWMA	JAMAJ
JACH FAME	JASH	JASH
MAINA SALARY	MAINA	MAHINA
MAHJE MONTHLY	MAHE	MASE
MUKH MOUTH	MUKH	MUKH
MIYAD TERM	MIYAD	MEYAD
MIDHA SWEET	MITHA	MISTA
MIJHA FALSE	MICHHA	MITHYA
MADI EARTH	MATI	MATI
MACH FISH	MACHH	MACHH
MAJHA MOSQUITO	MASA	MASHA
BHAK SHARE	BHAK	ANGSHA
BYADH HUNGER	BYADH	SHIKARI
BAJHIHA FLUTE	BANGSHI	BANSHI

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF RURAL AREAS - 1981 (CENSUS OF INDIA)

TOTAL		ILLETERATE		FORMAL EDN.		PRIMARY EDN.		MIDDLE STAGE		MATRIC SECONDARY		H.S./ INTERMEDIATE	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
17847	16746	12842	15421	3204	859	1024	286	401	102	152	33	77	28

TECH. DIPLOMA		GRADUATE DEGREE THAN TECH DEGREE		POST GRADUATE		ENGINEERS		MEDICINE		AGRI & DAIRYING		TEACHING	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
2	0	10	05	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF URBAN AREAS - 1981 (CENSUS OF INDIA)

TOTAL		ILLETERATE		FORMAL EDN.		PRIMARY EDN.		MIDDLE STAGE		MATRIC SECON-DARY		H.S./ INTE-RME-DIATE	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
120	87	26	22	11	12	10	09	16	17	25	13	22	09

TECH. DIPL-OMA		GRADUATE DEGREE THAN TECH DEGREE		POST GRADU-ATE		ENGI-NEERS		MEDI-CINE		AGRI & DAIRY-ING		TEAC-HING	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1	0	7	02	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3

THE CHAKMA FOLKLORE

What means Folklore ?

The term folklore means traditional beliefs, customs and legends prevailing among the common people. According to International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences "Folklore means folk learning", it comprehends all knowledge that is transmitted by word of mouth and all crafts and techniques that are learned by limitation or example, as well as the products of these crafts. Folklore includes folkart, Folkcrafts, folktools, folk costume, folk custom, folk belief, folk medicine, folk recipes, folk music, folk dance, folk games, folk guestures and folk speech, as well those verbal forms of expressin which have been called folk literature but which are better described as verbal art."

Oxford English Dictionary says, "The word folklore is the study of traditional beliefs, legends, and customs, current among the common people. Properly speaking folklore is only concerned with the legends, customs, beliefs of the folk of the people".

According to L. P. Vidyarthi "Folklore is the oral literature of the simpler societies and is perpetuated by oral traditions. There is usually no technique, certainly no formal technique connected with the making and singing of songs, they are learnt by the ear and transmitted in this fashion from generation. Nor is there a conscious awareness of forms or construction on the part or the folk singer or folk letter, there is no aesthetic or analytic theory in his mind".

William John Thomas in 1846 at first used the world 'folklore'. It reflects the culture of the people and also

brings soliderity, continuty and consistency in a cultural group."

The Chakma folklore have various components. Among these ingridients the Chakma customery proverbs are very enriched. Proverbs are the materials which help us to understand the intellectuality, the sense of reality towards life and their wisdom, the thinking of the intelligentsia of a clan or the tribe of a class of people or a nation.

Getting experience through day to day living in the tribe or the society man expreses his intelligence through the proverbs easily. Hence the proverbs not only help us to determine the ancient historical facts. It reveals from the Chakma proverbs that some historical facts exposed so simply. In this context the eminent socio-culturist Dr. Dulal Choudhury widely narrated in this book of Chakma proverbs in which he referred to a proverb that RUNUKHA AMAL MIDA KHANA which mens in the reign of the king Ruunukha was compared to treacle, a favourite and commonly used food. Such the Chakma proverbs reveal the social customs, customery faiths and believes, likings and dislikings healthy sense of life, their charity, their humours etc.

Folklore keeps paces with the evolution of the society and always remains dynamics. Robert Redfield mentioned it as 'a history from the bottom up'. It is the gradual development of man in course of social evolution. This development of the human society is closely related to the course of the development the folklore of the society. It reflects the life pattern of a

tribe or a group of people.

Folklore comprises of folk beliefs, myths, proverbs, folk psychology, legends, riddles, folk songs, folk ballads, folk music, nursary rhymes, folk tales, folk festivals, folk arts and crafts folk ornaments and dress, folk games, food habits, folk medicine etc.

CHAKMA PROVERBS

The Chakma proverbs and riddles enriched the folk Chakma literature. The proverbs and riddles touch almost every aspects of their life. They are thought provoking and full of the guiding principles of their life. These are sharp and full of artistic view.

The word 'Proverb' comes from the Latin word "proverbium' 'Pro' means before and verbium means word. According to Webstar's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1969) a proverb means - 'A brief popular epigram or maxim'.

Bacon says "The genius, wit and spirit of a nation are discovered by their proverbs".

As examples we cite here some of the Chakma proverbs :

1. DAGAW KADHA FELA NA JAY

Usual sayings cannot be fruitless. These are always true and are proved in many ways. The reality of these sayings with surely be proved.

2. JE PEK-KHUAW URIBAW, BAYAWT FAWR-FAWRAY

The young bird tries to fly in its nest and in course of time it ables to fly in the sky. The English proverb goes, "Morning shows the day."

3. AWTTE KHANG, ARAW JUNANT UDHE :

The favourite one grows in the Jhum field without any effort of any one.

4. PETTUA FIRING DHARI NAW PELE, SADHU !
The fat ballied grass jopper which can not be caught is left out for showing kindness.

5. MAILAY GAJ KABADE BHAGINAY SAJ PAY
When the maternal uncle cuts the tree, the son of the sister thinks the work of cutting a tree is easy. The inner meaning is that an experienced man works easily.

6. AHAT PUTTE KUJU PADA DHARE
If a leaf of an esculant edible root touches a body of a man, the skin irritates or to be stricken with a desire for scratching ; but when the hand burns then the hand keeps the leaf of the esculant edible root for having cold. The similar English proverb is "Necessity knows no law".

7. JETTAWMAN DEBA KALA SETTANAMN NA ANE :
It does not rain so much from a large gathering clouds in the sky. The sense is empty vessel makes the greatest sound.

8. NABIT DELE NAWKKUNI BARE :
When a barber is seen, a painful in growing nail is reminded. The sense of the proverb is to make out the work by a worker as and when is seen.

9. MADHA NEI KANAHAW GARAGARI
When the head is gone, the body rolls. Everything becomes at sixes and sevens in abscence of the headman.

10. GUAWRAW UNDURE BER KAMRAY

The rat of the house bites the wall. An outcomer rat does not come to bite the wall. The weakness of a family is brought out by a member of the same family only.

11. LARANAY MARANAY & CHAWNG

To take rehabilitation coming from a place or to die the value of the alternative is same.

12. MIDA MUE VIDA TULE :

One can be driven out from his living place only by exchange of pleasing words. The sense is the pleasing words have wonderful powers.

13. TEBA PANIE GHARA BHARE :

A jar becomes full by water coming drop after drop. The sense is 'little drops of water make the vast Ocean'.

14. CHIGON MURICH JHAL BEJ

Little speciesed paper becomes hotness. In human society it is often seen that man of short stature is very active and full of efficient work energy and willingness to do some thing for the upliftment of the society as well as for the mankind.

15. BEJA GAWRU DAT CHELLE KI AWHAWBAW?

A cow which is sold needs no cheking of its teeth. The English proverb is 'Let by gone, be by gone'.

16. BURA BANDAWREY GAJAWT UDHE

An old monkey cannot give up the habit of climbing up the tree. The sense is habit is formed and this formed habit cannot be easily given up.

17. BHAT NEI GHAWRAWT KOLAW BAJNA :

Quarrels prevail in a house where food is scarced. Poverty brings sorrows and destroys the happiness

of a house.

18. AMAWNAW ANDAJ PAGAWLE BUJHE

Even a mad can understand his fortune. He can distinguish between good or bad and always goes for achieving troubleless.

19. JE NAWT UDHE SEE NAW PANI IJE :

He who steps into the boat bails out of water from the boat. Generally this proverb is used in the case of the woman. After the marriage a woman goes to her father-in-law's house and takes the house as her own and always tries to keep the interest of the house above all. In such case this proverb is used. This signifies the social responsibility of a woman and the power which is inheritant in a woman to take an unknown house as her beloved house so easily with all her capability.

20. MERAW DAWRE BANDAWR NACHE

A monkey dances for fear of beating only. The sense is the prisoner has to say everything which one whishes to be said by the month of the prisoner. To be escaped from beating the guilty man has to say anything in spite of knowing that his statements may go against of him. He wants to get relief at that time being at least.

21. BAWNAW BAGHE NAWHAW KHADE, NAWNAW BAGHE KHAY

The tiger of the mind eats before the tiger of the forest eats. The English proverb goes - "Cowards die many times before their death.'

22. JHIYAWRE MARI BO RE SHIKHAY

To teach the wife of the son, it is necessary to beat the

daughter.

23. SAD AWJHAY PUA MARE :

A son dies as the result of nursing by seven nurses. The English proverb goes 'Many a cook spoil the broth'.

24. GHAT PAR AWHAWLE GHATTAWLA SHALA

One cannot remember the benifactor. When a man accrosses the river by the help of a boatman, he does not remember the boatman.

25. MANUS CHINE AKAWLE, GACHH CHINE BAKAWLE :

A man is known by his manners and behaviours, so as a tree is known by its barks.

26. HATI DI HATI DHAWRE

An elephant is caught by another elephant. There remains a similar Bengali proverb that a thorn is taken out by the help of another thorn.

27. LOKER MUKHE KHAY, LOKER MUKHE JOY

Good representation or bad name is spreaded by the mouth of a man. A man is socially raised or brought down by another men only. A man's fame is fully dependent on the good remarks of others.

28. KAWTHAR HADDI NAI

Words never contain any bone. The sense is one can speak according to his motive and nothing stands as an obstacle of his words or expressions.

29. GUNAR BHAGI KEAWI NAWY

None shares the sin but everyone wishes to share the fruit of good deeds. All desire to get a portion of profit.

30. DAWSHER LATHI EKER BOJHA

Sticks of many men become a burden to a man to

carry those. The sense is a hard work can be done by the united efforts of many men. A collective work becomes easily solved.

31. CHNADAWRE AW GANNAY DHAWRE

The moon is swallowed by the truncated demon. Here the moon sclipsed is mentioned.

32. NISHWASHAWR BISHWAS NAI

There is no certainity to take next breath. The sense is life is very short. Existence on this earth is very uncertain.

33. KAUSMA GAWUR BHATE NAW MAWRE

A hard working man never dies for want of food. The sense is food is gahthered by means of working. To live efforts are essential.

34. SIDHA AWNULE GHE NAW UDE

A clarified butter or ghee cannot be taken by a straight finger. Some times work cannot be done or got by simplicity. One's simplicity may draw other's rudeness.

35. JAMAI KANYAR DEKHA NAUI. SHUKKUR - BARE BIYA

The bride and the bridegroom are not settled or found. But the date of the marriage is fixed up. To spread out the name of an uncertain work brings laughter.

36. ELMAWTTUN HELAWM BAWRAW

Wisdom is better than studying something. Intelligence is superior to learn a thing.

37. HAWSTAR TIN AWBAWSTA

A thing which is bought at a cheap rate cannot be good. Good articles are seldom purchased at a cheap

rate.

38. BUDHBARE GADAW SAP-POYAW NAW LAWRE

Even a snake does not come out from its hole on Wednesday. To start on Wednesday leads to fruitless work. The Chakmas consider the day of Wednesday as an unsuccessful day. They do not perform any ritual work to the dead on Wednesday.

39. KAN TANILE MADHA EJHA

When an ear is pulled, the head comes automatically.

40. BAWI PELE THENG ANDAW MAGE

When one gets a chance to sit down, wishes to lies down. The sense is when a thing which is scarce is given to a person, the demand of the person grows gradually.

41. BILEYE KUGURE !

The relation between the cat and the dog is at daggers drawn. To express a bad relation the proverb is used.

42. AMANAWTTUN THELE KHA PAWRAWTTUN THELE CHA :

To eat from own source and to place demand to others.

43. PATH BHALA BENGA JA - BHAT BHALA CHUDHA KHA

One should go along a good path in spite of going a bad short cut path. The bad short cut path may bring danger to the traveller. Likewise if the boiled rice becomes good, the meal may be taken with

satisfaction without having good vegetable curry.

44. AHARAYBEE MACHAHHUYA DANGER

The fish which is not caught, probably it as the largest one. The left one always seems attractive.

45. EK KUBE GAJ NAW PARE :

By one strike or effort the tree does not fall. Success does not come by one effort. To achieve the goal several efforts are necessary.

46. BINA BATASE PADA NAW LARE :

As leaf cannot move without the force of wind. Nothing is done without a cause. Every action has behind a reason.

47. AKKAWLE KHAWDARE CHINE :

God is known by one's wisdom and intellegiance. The sense is man can know what is true and perfect by means of wisdom.

48. SAWSTAR TIN AWBAWSTA :

A cheap thing becomes below standard. Only bad articles are setted sold at a cheap rate.

49. NUYA NUYA BANGRI, NUANUA RAWNG

New varieties of thin bengals have attractive colours which give delight to men. Man finds joy of life in diversities. He feels tired to remain only in one variety. The quest for newness is the perpetual demand of a man.

50. BAP CHA, PUT CHA, MA CHA, JHI CHA

Like father, like son.

Like moher, like daughter.

The son resembles his father and likewise the daughter resembles her mother.

51. KHANAT JAWAN AGE, MAIRAT JAWAWN PICHE :

To eat go first, to make quarrel go later. Our endeavours are to be given first to keep our body fit, but to be fallen in troubles we are to think many times and to start slowly to proceed to evil deeds.

52. RUNUKHA AMAL MIDA KAHNA

In the reign of Chakma king Runukh the subjects lived happily with peace and prosperity, So his reign is compared to their favoutite tracle which is commonly used on that time.

53. JE KUGURAW LEJ BENA, CHUMAT

BHARELEY UJU NAW AWHAY :

The dog which tail is bented cannot be made straight in spite of keeping the tail in a straight bamboo hole.

54. NAW SINYA KUGUR KHNGANI DANGAR

The dog which is unable to bite burks much. The English proverb is "A burking dog seldom bites."

55. SHAWDAW GHA PADA AWSUDH I

To remove or cure the wounds of the elephant only leaf of the tree is prescribed. It means that supply is very negligible to meet up the demand.

56. BHANGA THENAN GADAT PARE :

The wounded leg fails in the pits or ditches. This means a lame easily falls in danger to accross the path.

57. EK DINE JAR KAL NAW JAY :

The winter does not pass in a day. The English proverb goes - one shallow does not make a summer.

Folk Tales

In every society of the world folk tales are very

popular. The Chakma society is no exception of the family tell the children's favourite folk tales. In some society the provision of folk tellers remain. But in Chakma society this kind of provision of folk teller does not remain. But the persons enabling to tell the folk tales so sweetly are very popular in Chakma society also.

Generally the folk tales are in vogue in Chakma society regarding the birds and animals. These folk tales are told to give enjoyments in the minds of the Children as well as hearing the tales the children became acquianted with the characteristical manners of the animals. Besides these there are the tales about the ghosts, witches etc.

The folk tales as prevailing in different societies may have the resemblance with one another but they bear special characteristic of each and every society. For this in each society folk tales build separate motive and type for the listeners.

Hence in the folk tales of the Chakmas it is perceived different types and motives to resemble the Chakma society. It is superfluous to say that these folk tales are akin with the folk tales of North Eastern tribes of India. Here we are noting some of the characteristics of the Chakma folk tales. These are :

1. Tales regarding creation

2. The prominence of the tales regarding the animals,

3. Explanatory Characteristics regarding manners and types of the animals.

4. The tales of creation regarding rivers, rainbows, streams etc.

5. Conceptive tales based on totemism prevailing in the society.

Besides above characteristics the Chakma Folk Tales contain some traditional customary types and characters as given below :

1. The Jhum cultivation of the animals.

2. Marriage with the monkey.

3. Transformation of a man into a tiger.

4. A fool son-in-law and the clever servant.

5. The success of the youngest son.

6. Tales of beginning of the PUJAS (worship) and cultural functions.

7. Transformation into a bird by the sufferings of a step mother.

8. Transformation of human souls into different shapes and types of nature etc.

Some of the Chakma folk tales created from the theme of the JATAKAS stories which result the resembling features with the folk tales of other regions of India. On the other side these are in quite similarity with the other folk tales of North Eastern tribes also.

We are giving some of the folk tales as examples:

I. Why the thread of a spider does not end ?

There is a popular Chakma folk tale in regards to the reason of endless thread of a spider. This originally is narrated in the popular poetry named PAKHA-MOR GODDESS LAXMI, a mervellous creation of th Chakma poetic art. This tale is a part of the PAKHAM.

In times immemorial there remains no earth or the universe. So GOJEN (god) created the earth. He created trees, mountains, rivers and cannels, pools, Oceans, the sky, the stars and so on, He created KEDUGA after his images. KEDUGA was the first man of the world. He created the first woman named KEDUGI from the filth of his body. They did not know the process of cultivation. They even did not know how to use of fire. So they would eat fruits to live.

But once all the trees and weeds died as a result of blowing frost. For this reason men became about to die.

GOJEN knew the sufferings of men of the earth and to remove their sufferings and to protect them he sent BIYATRA, the son ofthe Ganges, from the heaven. BIYATRA came to this earth and the earth again became full of flowers and fruits. He taught men how to cultivate and to build houses. He taught how to use fire. To meet up the scarcity of food he went to the heaven to bring Laxmi to the earth for her grace to the men of the earth. The goddess Laxmi agreed to come to the earth at the request of BIYATRA. She started to descend on the earth on the back of her favourite carrier, "ME ME CHHAGALI". But on the way her journey was stopped to see the vast milk sea. To reach on the earth this milk Sea must be crossed. But her carrier ME ME CHHAGLI would not be able to accross this vast Milk Sea without having help from others. So she called in a crab, a boar and a spider to get rid of his barrier.

The crab got down in the Milk Sea and on its back the boar sat. The ME ME CHHAGli sat on the back of the bnoar. The goddess Laxmi sat on the ME ME CHHAGLI. Now BIYATRA instructed the spider to construct a straight line of its thread from this shore to opposite shore of the Milk Sea so that the goddess Laxmi would be able to hold the thread by one hand for accrossing the sea. But the spider

hesitated to start the work considering an impossible task.

The goddess Laxmi understood all problems of the spider and told the spider that his thread would not be exhausted by her grace. Being graced by the goddess Laxmi the spider began his work and completed straight line of its thread from this shore to the opposite shore. The goddess Laxmi accrossed easily by keeping her hand on the thread climbing on the back of the ME ME CHHAGLI and discended on the earth.

So the proverb is still in vougue in the society of the Chakma that the thread of the spider never ends. Even today the olds of the Chakma society recognise the foot prints of the boar on the back of the crab in two flat sides of the back.

2. Affect of telling a lie :

Once a toad and a tailor bird lives in its small nest and the toad lives in a pit.

One day the toad went to the town for a visit. On returning home he told the tailor bird that a cyclone would come today only to give a surprise to his friend. On enquiry he also told that he had heard this news in the town when people were talking about cyclone. He told this lie only to provide current news as he visited the town and to enhance his prestige in the

eyes of his friend.

But hearing the news the tailor bird got fightened. He thought that the cyclone would flown away his nest and he would fall in danger . Being thoughtful he said to the toad that the great danger was coming at last to him.

The toad told that there was no reason to fear on his part as he lived in a pit which would not be fallen in danger. The tailor bird said that he had to search for a safety place and he flew away in search of a secured place.

A large RANRANK bird was taking air spreading his beaks opened at the time sitting on the top branch of a tree. The tailor bird was rushing madly and he mistook the spreading of the beaks as the hole of a tree and entered into the throat of the RANRANG. At the happening the RANRANG was frightened and made a loud voice - RANRANG and the tailor bird became frighten at the sound of RANRANG and he came out from the throat and flew away.

Just at that time sitting on a branch of tree a monkey was eating a pumkin which he had stolen from the JUM field of a house holder. Hearing the surprising sound of the RANRANG the monkey became frightened and the pumkin fell down on the back of a dear which was under the tree.

The dear was hurt by the falling of the pumkin and it suddenly jumped up and began to rush away. On the way the dear hurt on the back of a python which was lying on that way of fleeing of the dear. The python became angry with the deer but it could not catch hold of the deer and its anger grew more. The python found the nest of a hen and out of rage it ate all the eggs of the hen.

The hen was near to its nest but it could do nothing to the python and to meet up its rage it destroyed the nest of the ants and ate all the eggs of the ants.

The ants could do nothing. They began to run to and fro. They found a boar and bate at the bottom of its tail.

Being pained the boar became restless and out of rage the boar ate all the crops of a widow. The helpless widow could do nothing to the boar and complained to the king against the boar for eating all her crops in the JHUM.

The king seemmoned the boar present in his court and asked why it had eaten the crops of the widow. The boar replied humbly and begged pardon to the king for eating the crops of the widow. He said that he did not offence to the ants but they bate him severely. Out of pain he ate the crops.

The king then called in the ants to his court. The ants replied that the hen ate all the eggs of them. So they bate the boar.

In this way the hen, the python, the deer, the monkey, the large bird RANRANG and he tailor bird were called in at the court of the king and they all explained humbly the causes behind their committing the offences. The tailor bird told that the had heard the news of the cyclone from the toad and he was so frightened that he wrongly entered into the mouth of the RANRANG.

The king understood all and summoned the toad. In the meantime the toad hided itself in a hole. The king's men dug the hole and brought out the toad from the hole and presented before the king.

The toad confessed to the king and told that it only to give a surprise to the tailor brid told the lie of impending cyclone. The king judged all the incidents and told them that only one telling of lie dragged all those incidents. So the toad should have punishment. He ordered his men to cane the toad severely. But he reminded his men to cane such a way so that toad would not died.

As ordered by the king the toad was bound with a jack fruit tree and was caned severely by the king's men. The toad was beaten so severely that its body became bent and turned into a hump-backed. As it

was bound with a jackfruit tree so juice or latex of the jack - fruit tree was plunged on its body. From that incident the Chakmas still now believe that the body of the toad looks so ugly.

(3) Why fears the ghost from the dog?

Once a house holder learnt a MANTRA or magical word from an exorcist. The exorcist told him that he would be able to be present a ghost by uttering the MANTRA for thousand times. The ghost will always carry out his words and will do all works whether simple or hard. The house holder became pleased hearing the power of the MANTRA. Some days passed. One day the house holder wanted the power of the MANTRA to be judged and as per instruction of the exorcist he repeated the MANTRA for thousand times and at his utmost surprise he found a ghost standing in front of him and wanted to know what works is to be done. The house holder told the ghost to clear up the weeds of his JHUM field. The ghost agreed to carry out his order but the ghost placed a condition to the house holder to place his tasks of works could not be stopped and if the house holder would be unable to order the tasks of works to the ghost to be done, the ghost would break the neck of him. The house holder agreed to the condition and the ghost left but within a moment he returned and reported that he had completed his tasks. Then the house holder told him to pull out all the leftout bottom of the trees with their roots lying in his

JHUM area. The ghost disappeared and returned after a while. The house holder then told the ghost to level the path by cutting earth from his house to the JHUM AREA. This work was also done in a twinkle of an eye. The house holder thought for a while and then he ordered the ghost to make straight the folded tail of his black dog. He reminded the ghost that the dog would bite him to death on failure of doing his task. The ghost began to make straight the tail of the dog. But many time passed but the ghost could not make straight the tail. He tried again and again. But no sooner had he opened his hand then the tail became as before. The ghost was frightened by seeing this. To make his work easy he put the tail in the hole of a bamboo considering the tail would be straight for remaining a period in the hole of he straight bamboo. But at his atmost surprise he found that the tail of the dog bended as before. Now the ghost remembered the words of his master that the dog would bite him till to his death on failure of completing the task of work to make straight of the tail of the dog. For fear of life the ghost ran away. The ghost never returned there. The Chakmas still now believe that the ghosts fear the black dog from that incident.

4. The tiger and a Touroise :

One day a tiger roamed all day in the jungle for prey. But unfortunately he did not find any animal to prey. He became very hungry and moved on for hunting. After some time he met a tortoise which was

moving slowly. The tiger was not acquianted with a tortoise which was a surprise to him. But as he was very hungey he determined to eat the tortoise to met up his hunger. He moved to bite it. But as soon as the tiger came forward the tortoise drew its legs and head in its hard slough. It looked like a ball. The tiger began to bite again and again but failed to eat it and at last gave up its attempt to bite. The tortoise made a fun with the tiger feeling its security not in danger. It said to the tiger to carry it to a pool where water will soften it and the tiger would be able to eat it. The tiger became glad and the words of the tortoise seemed justifyable to the tiger. Then the tiger caught hold it by the mouth and carried to a pool and dropped it in the water. Then the tortoise swam hurriedly away from the grapse of tiger by spreading out its head and legs from the crust. Finding the incident the tiger did not astonish this time. He understood that he was made a fool by the tortoise. And began to step forward to its den with hunger and feebled body. But no sooner had the tiger dropped it in the water than the tortoise swam hurriedly away from the grapse of the tiger by spreading out its head and legs from the crust. Finding the incident the tiger did not astonish this time. He understood that he was made a fool by the tortoise and began to step forward to its den with hunger and feebled body.

5. An ameteur Jhum cultivation :

A tiger, a boar, a fox and a cock lived in the forest

and they became friends to one another. They roamed together and thus they lived happily and they considered themselves as bossom friends to one another.

Once they decided to cultivate Jhum amaturely in a cooperative basis. Accordingly they went to the deep forest to select each plot of land for Jhum cultivation and at last selected plots for each of them.

The system of cultivation of Jhum in a cooperative basis is to work in a plot of land of one by one by turns by all other members of the cooperative. The basic idea of farming by means of cooperative basis is to grow social awareness to the fellowmen and to grow fellow friendship.

The first day of work is determined in the Jhum field of the tiger. They began to work from early in the morning with most enthusiastic mood. At noon the tiger said to his friends that had to go to his den to prepare food for his friends who had been working in his field earlier to become pleased and permitted him to leave the field earlier to go and to prepare food for them. Before leaving the tiger requested them to come to his den at the lunch time. The tiger before leaving the place went to the forest and killed a stag and prepared meal with great care for his friends. All other friends came at lunch time and ate with their hearts content and praised the tiger for his good meal made of meat.

The next day they began to work in the Jhum field of the boar. The boar wanted to leave them earlier to go to his house to prepare food for them. The friends permitted his gladly to go and to prepare food fo them. The boar also requested his friends to come to his house at the lunch time. The boar before leaving the place entered into the forest and gathered forest potatoes and cooked delicious food for his friends. The friends ate and praised the boar for serving them good meal.

The third day was the turn of the members of the co-operative to work in the Jhum field of the fox. But before starting the work the fox requested his friends not to work in his Jhum field on that day as there some difficulties remained in his house for which he would not be able to feed them. All agreed to work in the Jhum field of the cock in that day leaving the turn of the fox. They started work. Some hours passed. He requested his friends to give him permission to go to his house to arrange meal for them. The cock requested his friends to come to his house at lunch time. He went home and collected many eggs and prepared food for them. The friends ate the food and praised the cock for serving good food to them.

The fourth day all feiends began to work in the Jhum field of the fox. After a while the fox wanted to leave them for going to his home to prepare food for them. All agreed. The fox returning home thought some times and went to the forest to kill an animal to

make food but he could not. He tried to collect some forest potatoes but his teeth and paws could not bring out the forest potatoes. He became puzzled and returned to his house and put the pan on the oven,. He sat on the pan. Only some stool came out and dropped on the pan. A bad smell spreaded in all surroundings. The fox made a packet with the stool covering handsomely. Then he lied down on the floor. At lunch time his friends came and smelt bad smelling. But they thought that the fox cooked a new item of food. So they did not say anything. Seeing them the fox said that he had been feeling very unwell causing with an attack with unknown fever. The friends were very hungry. Yet they felt pity for the friend. They found the packet in the house of the fox and thought that their friend brought food for them. The tiger opened the packet by its mouth and the stool was sticked in its mouth and bad smell spreaded all around. The tiger roared with anger and the fox ran away in the jungle, the boar fled in the forest and the cock flew away. Thus the amature cultivation in the cooperative system was ended miserably.

6. A Chakma Traditional Hearsay or Rumour Tanyabir Firti :

BANDAR GHOP, a small Chakma village is situated in the Mouja of BAK CHHARI, not far from Rangamati in Bangladesh.

A large lake was near this village. Local Chakma

tribals named this lake as "TANYABIR FIRTI". There remains an elegy behind the naming of the lake as TANYBIR FIRTI which has become a Chakma traditional hearsay.

The river Chengi which is a branch of the river Karnafully flows near the village Bandarghop. In this village a beautiful woman named Tanyabir lived with her parents. Tanyabir had a deep love with a Chakma Youth named Pungchan. The two loved each other dearly. They dreamt a future happy couple life. They were passing the days happily with their dreams. But the parents of Tanyabir did not agree to give the marriage of their daughter with Pungchan. Tanyabir had a strong will to escape away with her beloved Pungchan but at last she gave up her aspires fearing the customary laws of the Chakmas.

In the meantime the parents of Tanyabir decided to give marriage of their daughter with a rich oldman and all arrangements were done. Accordingly one day the marriage was over with great pmop and enjoyments.

Pungchan remained silent for fear of the social customary laws byt Tanyabir could not bear the marriage and she could not dedicately offer herself to her husband. She became buffled with her misfortune and passed the bridal bed by weeping throughout the night. She began to weep at the home of her husband all day and night dreaming of their happy

past days with her lover Pungchan. She worked at the Jhum and collected the stems of Pumpkin remembering her happy past days. Her sorrows drew the sympathy of the villagers and they also felt pity for this beautiful woman Tanyabir. Co-sharing the sorrowness of Tanyabir the flowing river Chengi also diverted her stream and turned to the other direction about half a mile.

As a result of changing the direction of the river Chengi a ditch was created. This ditch was gradually filled up with the tears of Tanyabir. The local people called it the "TANYABIR FIRTI". One day the lover Tanyabir became insane with the grief and sorrow and gave away her life by dipping into the lake. And this immoral hearsay is still remaining bright in the Chakma Society. They say,

"TANYABI JUMMAT JAY

SHUGURI DADI TANER GAI

PURAN KATHA HARIDAT TULI

GUJURI GUJURI KANER GAI"

This means Tanyabir goes to the Jhum and collects the stems of pumpkin and remembers the past happy life and weeps.

Riddles :

In the Chakma folk literature riddles like the proverbs also occupy an important role. These riddles exhibit an excellent mode of Chakma community life as well as their way of looking at the environmental activities around them. The objects of the riddles are based mainly on the environmental activities in which they live. The riddles and their solutions show their witness and their presence of mind. Riddles are the medium to expose the art of intelligency of a folk society. The Chakma riddles are no exception of it.

It is to be kept in mind that the elderly persons are the media of retaining these riddles and through these elderly persons the riddles comes down to the generation after generation.

As examples some of the riddles are given here :-

1. KOLA MORAWAT MALA BHAJEY

A coconut shell floats in a black tank or a pond (A floating tortoise)

2. GAJHAW UGUREY PANI KUA

A water well is on the tree (a coconut)

3. LUDI TANILEY MON GUJUREY

If a creeper of a tree is pulled then it is sounded on the top of the hill (HENGA RONG - a kind of

Chakma musical instrument is made of the small reed of the bamboo which is bound up with a rope in one side)

4. MA KANDEY PUO DANGOR AOI

The more the mother cries, the bigger the child grows (the spinning wheel).

5. KHAIDAY GULOTTUN BODHU NEI

The fruit which is eaten has no leaf-stalk (Egg)

6. BAR KALAGOT SUDHO FUDEY

In wide plain land there are cotton plants in blossoms (stars of the sky)

7. GAJHAW UGUARY DOI PILA

There remains a pot of curd on the tree (a heron or crane)

8. CHALAW UGUAREY BAWARAW MUGOR

A big club is on the roof of the house (A bottle guard).

9. CHIGON BURCHYAR EKKO DAT) TA LECHYAN BARAW HAT.

The feebled oldman has only a tooth but his tail is twelve hands in length (a fishing-rod along with a fishing hook).

10. CHAL AGHEY TAWLA NEI

A roof having no floor (an umbrella)

11. KAJA AWKTAT VEK-VEKKYA PAGILLEY SINDUR

At the initial stage it remains soft but when it ripens looks red like vermilion (An earthen pitcher).

Though flying yet it is not a bird, it is roaring but not a tiger, it has trunk but not an elephant (KOMRENG PUK). It is a kind of wild insect which has a trunk like an elephant and it roars like a tiger.

Classification of the riddles :

The above mentioned riddles may be classified into the following categories.

A. Riddles in regards to the human organs such as head, tooth, mouth etc. Perhaps the early Chakmas were curious about the different organs of the body.

B. Riddles about insects and worms : Various kinds of insects and worms were familier to the

Chakma society.

C. Riddles about plants and trees : The early Chakmas were very familier to various kinds of plants and creepers such as pumpkins, coconut, gourd etc.

D. Riddles about household goods and utensils : The household goods and utensils were closely connected with the day to day life of them. These are spinning wheel, pitcher, Umbrella, fishing rod and fishing hook etc.

E. The riddles regarding natural objects :

These natural objects are also found in the Chakma riddles. These are bamboo, water tank or pond, tortoise etc.

Folk Musical Instrument :

The Chakmas used many kinds of folk musical instruments which they used orchestrically in the dance performances or some particular events. All the instruments are typical and made by them. But at present, they also used some modern musical instrumnt like Harmonium, Tabla, Gitter etc. in performing nodern songs or newly composed choreographical dances. Here we have mentioned the most typical musical instruments used by the Chakma folk.

1. Dhul - A medium sized drum.

2. Dagar - A small sized drum

3. Singa - It is a musical instrument looks like a big bamboo flute. The whole instrument comprises one single bamboo tube of having two or three inter nodes. The upper edge of it is connected by a small bamboo pipe through which the air is to be blowed by mouth. As air passes along the flute, it strikes against the other edge and create the sound like flute.

4. Bash Hengorong : It is a simpliest type of ideophonic musical instrument which made of a small bamboo cane. This lip-reed instrument consists of a thin frame of about 20 cm. length of which a reed fixed itself with the frame and the other end of it is kept free. Attached to the one end of it there is a small nob-like a head on which a small string is fastened for holding it by hand. The player plays this instrument keeping it by hand in his lips and blow the air by his mouth. At the same time he also pulls the string by his other hand in the proportionate rhythom and style.

5. HUA HENGARONG : It is almost a similar lip-read musical instrument as mentioned above, but made of iron frame. This consists of a small frame of iron which looks like a semi-circular designed. But the semi-circular being incomplete and projecting into a pair of tapering prongs. Connecting the centre

of it a small rod or reed is fixed at its free end in between with the said two prongs which is a bit curve in its last end. Attached to the circular body a short fork putting out the opposite direction which looks like a peg. Holding the fork by one hand the player keeps it in his lips and blow the air by his mouth. At the same time he strikes the reed's end on its curved portion by a finger of the other hand. By this way the player plays this instrument.

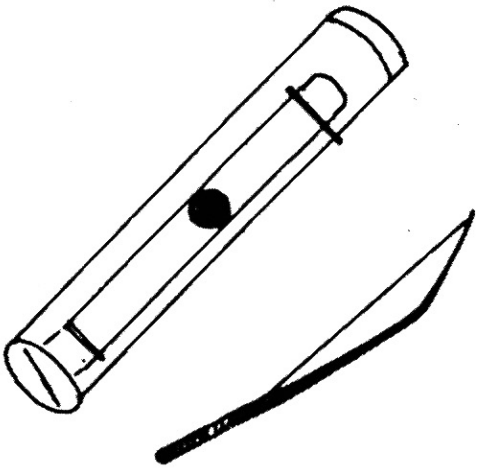
6. BAJHI : A typical small bamboo flute.

7. DHUHUK : It is a big bamboo pipe having its two nodes in the both ends. The pipe has to be partly cutout of its one side which makes a parallel whole of the pipe. This instrument is being played by striking on it with one or more bamboo cane.

8. SARINDYA - It is a monochords type of instrument made of wood and strings. It is almost comparable with the Behala.

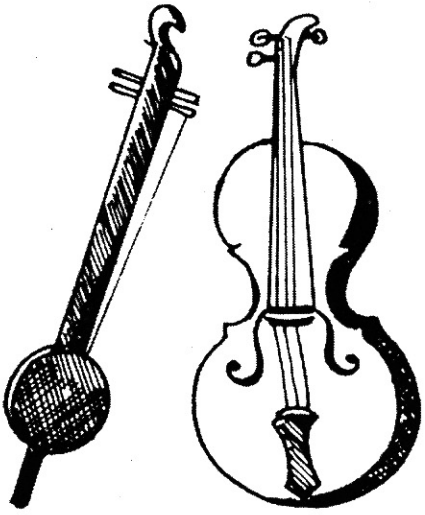
9. SURA-SHA : It is a small size of gourd which fully ripened. It's inner seeds becomes dry after keeping it on the sunshine for long days. It makes sound with its seeds shaking the same by hand. Now-a-days, the players penetrate some small iron ball into the hole of the gourd.

10. TAK - It is an instrument made of bamboo pipe which is having three nodes. Measuring the half



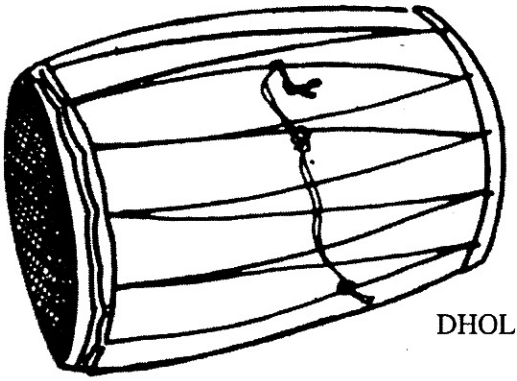
DHUDHUK

EKTARA



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

portion of its lower side have partly been cut out in both sides which makes the shape of wo horizontal stick like handles. The upper side of the pipe is to be cut out into two parallel slices. Holding the two stick like handles the player makes the sound by clashing them in clapping system.



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CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL ASPIRATION OF THE CHAKMAS OF TRIPURA

The Chakma tribe of Tripura was always renowned as a peace loving tribe. In the past they came and settled down in Tripura chiefly in quest of fertile hilly forest land that was suitable for their Jhum cultivation. And they built up their dwelling villages in the boarder areas particularly at the places adjacent to the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. For this living in the distant places close relationship could not build up between the Tripuris and the Chakmas although the Tripuri Community held the main stream of population of Tripura. Only with a view to collecting taxes some officials of the kings of Tripura would some times go in their dwelling places. But the Chakmas had a good relationship with he Reangs and the Noatias of Tripura. The Chakmas got them as neighbours. By living as neighbours a cordial and sympathetic attitude developed among the tribes of Noatia, Riangs and Chakmas.

As the Chakmas lived in the boarder areas they were deprived of having the results of good rulings of the King's of Tripura. Although their habitations in Tripura grew up almost two hundred to two hundred and fifty years ago yet no direct relationship could grow up between the kings of Tripura and them. Consequently they lived aloof with their traditional

culture in their confined society to some extent. But from the second decade of the twentieth century a relation grew up with the King's Court. In this decade the court of the king of Tripura conferred the title of DEWAN BAHADUR to Ledrai Dewan, an inhabitant of Pecharthal of the North District of Tripura. In every year he accompanying with some Chakma Chiefs would join at the King's Court at Agartala on the occasion of the king's yearly PYNYAHNA or HASAM BHOJAN. It is to be said that from thence the relationship between the Chakmas and the Tripuris began to increase on cordial footings. For this reason the influence and impact of the social movements centreing on the Royal family could produce little effect on the Chakma. The social movement were (a) to organise a KHSHATRIYA clan under the patronage of the kings of Tripura, (b0 to preach in Vaisnabism, (c) Ratanmani Reang rebellion etc.

But in the post independence era a major non-tribal exoduses infiltrated into Tripura for which the Socio-economic spheres of Tripura had to change extensively and the Chakmas also were not exempted from the consecquences of influxes of refugees from the then East Pakistan now Bangladesh. After 1947 the infiltrations of refugees were also occured in the Chakma dwelling places in the District of North Tripura. As a result a part of the Chakma inhabitates became landless. On this issue some discontenments among the Chakma prevailed.

On this juncture a modern educated Sneha Kumar Chakma entered into Tripura hailing from the Hill Tracts of Chittagong due to partition. Primarily centreing on the discontenments of the Chakma Sneha Kumar formed political organisation named Tripura Tribal Union in 1954. And this newly formed organisation was abled to spread over its political motto and activities among the Chakmas, Jamatias and Halams to some extent. But it is certainly to be stated that the most of the Chakmas were clinged with the Chief Political organisations of the Congress and the Communists.

Safeguards to Administration and Inadequates

The nationalists of India strongly opposed the reforms acts of 1919 and 1935 on the allegations that those provisions indicated a distrust about the good wills on consideration of the politically conscious Indians about the problems of their tribal breatherns. The provisions under article 339 covered the state of Tripura also in which the president of India may at any time and shall at the expiary of ten years from the beginning of the constitution of India by an order to appoint a Commissioner to submit a report on the functioning of the administration of the Scheduled Tribes in part commencing part C state by an amendment.

Moreover the provisions under articles 330, 332 and 334 of the Constitution of India have been made

for the reservation of seats for the tribal people in the Parliaments and the state legislature and the claims of the tribals to be appointed in the Public Offices are to be given priority.

In accordance with the provisions a Commission for Schedule Caste and Schedules Tribes was appointed by the President of India to investigate into all matters relating to safeguarding the interests of the Tribes of Tripura. This Commission began to function from the 18th November, 1950 under a commission assisted by six Regional Commissioners with jurisdiction over 17 States. Accordingly the Commission submits an annual report every year to the President of India. But the report as submitted by the Commission was subjected for discussion in the Parliaments.

An administrative Reforms Commission was also formed under the Chairmanship of Sri K. Hanumanthaiah. After examining various aspects this Commission submits a report on some compact areas of tribal areas of Tripura and Manipur and suggested those areas might be specified and Tribal Community set up alongwith the delegation of well defined administrative powers. Sri Dasarath Deb, the then MP, proposed to form a definite area as reserved for the tribes of Tripura. He said, "Some area or areas of Tripura shall have to be set up aside for the tribals above and no other persons belonging to non-tribal communities should be allowed to settle

there and this conference should be allowed to settle there and this conference should take note that this is not a new idea at all."

Autonomous District Council of Tripura

The state government of Tripura decided to form an Autonomous Council according to the provisions with the constitution of India for protecting and safeguarding the interest of tribals of Tripura. This autonomous Council will introduce internal autonomous Tribal Compact Areas for protecting their socio-economic and traditional cultural interest. It has been felt that this Autonomous Council should be formed in accordance with the provisions of the constitution in terms of scheduled VI and pending scheduled VI it has been resloved to form the Autonomous District Council in terms of Scheduled VII of the Constitution. Accordingly on the 23rd March of 1979 the Autonomous District Council Bill was submitted in the Tripura Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Assembly passed the bill unanimously. The Bill includes the constitutional provisions at Autonomous District Council consisting of the Tribal villages and Tahsils to deal with the following matters. These are (a) Allotment and occupation or use of scheduled land or any other land a covering by a reserve forest. (B) Management and control of any unreserved forest. (C) Regulations to cultivate Jhum or any shifting crops. (b) Dealing with any other rural matters and to form administrative spheres

and (E) Regulating and controlling business and money lending with the State.

According to the Constitutional provisions in terms with the powers as delegated by the Scheduled VII the first election to the Autonomous Council of Tripura was held on the 8th January of 1982. But this Council was inadequate to fulfil the aspirations and demands of the tribals of Tripura and hence the demands for introducing the provisions in terms of the scheduled VI were putting stringly. As a result to form the Autonomous District Council for Tripura the fifty fourth amendment was passed in the Parliament on the 23rd August of 1984. The main object of this amendment was to handover certain administrative and legal authority to the Council with a view to looking after all aspects of tribal culture, social and economic upliftment of the tribes. On the Ist April of 1985 the Autonomous District Council in terms of the scheduled was introduced ceremonially. And in accordance with this scheduled VI the first election to the Autonomous District Council was held on the 30th June of 1985. The first session of this Autonomous District Council was held in the SHWET MAHAL on the 19th July, 1985. To commemorate the day of fifty fourth amendment of the constitution the Autonomous Council has been observing the day of the 23rd August as th "Scheduled Day"

The powers of the Autonomous Council are classified in three phases. These are (a) Administration,

(b) Judiciary (c) Finance.

The Headquarte of the Autonomous District Council is situated at KHUMLNG near at Jirania.

The following information are given in respect of the Autonomous District Council of Tripura.

Area	– 7,13,256	Squire Kilometre.
Population	– 6,33,322	
Tribal	– 4,52,809	
Scheduled Tribe	– 4,52,809	
Others	– 1,41,853	
Gaon Panchayet	– 330	
Revenue Village	– 642	
Tahasil	– 151	
Block	– 3	
Township	–	(Shikaribari and Manikpur)
Cultural centre	– 6	
Folk entertain-mental Centre	– 133	
Palli Beter Goshthi	– 127	
Sub-information Centre	– 144	
Primary Schools	– 1,269	

Sr. Basic Schools	–	173
High School	–	72
Higher Secondary Schools	–	72
Hostel	–	21
Ladies Hostel	–	2
Social Centre	–	416
Tribal Residential Schools	–	4
Adult Educational Centre	–	594

The second election to the Autonomous District Council was held on the 8th July, 1990 and the Chakmas also exercised their francise in the election with aspirations and dutiful citizens.

The followings are the names of the present members to the Autonomous District Council as were elected in the third ADC election. The portfolios as they held are indicated against their names.

1. Chairman	Sri Mongsajai Mog	All Council Affairs
2. Chief Executive Member	Sri Ranjit Debbarma	Administration, Financial, Development and

			Planning, P.W.D, Law Tribal Welfare.
3.	Executive Members	Sri Radha Charan Debbarma	Edn., Social Welfare, Public Relation and Social Edn., Tourism, Sports etc.
4.	Executive Member	Sri Rajendra Reang	Rural Development, Animal Husbandary, Electricity, Science & Technology
5.	Executive Member	Sri Gajendra Tripura	Agri. Fisheries, M.I.F.C.
6.	Executive Member	Sri Nripen Choudhury	Horticulture Regulation of Money, Land trade.
7.	Executive Member	Sri Kalachand Jamatia	Health, Forest
8.	Executive Member	Sri Kunja Debbarma	Co-operative Panchayet

Sri Mohini Mohan Chakma of Machhmara, P.S. Kanchanpur, North Tripura, has been chosen in the Autonomous District Council as Nominated Mem-

ber.

We find that the Chakmas of Tripura actively took part in the democratic process of India and they shared and enriched the socio-economical spheres by ventilating their responsibilities and duties to the nation by exercising their francise in the elections. In the general Assembly Elections of Tripura Sri Hangsaddhaj Dewan (Cong.) elected from Lungal in 1972 and Sri Mohanlal Chakma (CPM) also elected from Pecharthal in 1977.

The Chakmas of Tripura also took their political shares for upliftments of villages of Tripura and to take co-shares as other Tribals of Tripura as well as the responsible citizens of India.

For facilitating our discussion we are giving the names of Chakma elected Panchayet members to the Gaon Savas in respect of Panchayet election of 1985.

1. Amarpur Block :

Ek Chhari Uttar - Prem Chandra Chakma.

2. Kanchanpur Block :

a) Andhar Chhara - Nihar Bindu Chakma.

b) Nabin Chhara - Chitra Sen Chakma

c) Deovelli - Chittamani Dewan

3. Chhamanu Block :

a) Daluchhara - Ananda Chakma.

b) Joy Chandra Para - Kalendra Chakma.

c) Durgachhara - Bishudhan Chakma.

d) Chhamanu - Shashanka Chakma.

e) Lalchhara - Mangaldhan Chakma.

4. Damburnagar :

a) Taichekma - Bhupati Ranja Chakma.

b) Laxmipur - Baikuntha Chakma. etc.

9. Satchand Block :

(a) Kaptai – Bholanath Chakma

(b) Barbil – Kamala Ranjan Chakma

(c) Shile Chhari – Chitta Binode Chakma

The impacts of the advancement of human civilisation and using of comprehnsive mass media the people of the world have come closer and a fellow feeling among them easily grows. Any incident at a corner of the world does not remain a local affairs in modern

age. Such we see the the Statesman writes on the 28th May, 1986, "The Tribal suspect an ominouses design in some of the development activities which are being financed by western agencies."
By March 1987 more than 50 thousands of Buddhist tribals from Bangladesh came to Tripura as refugees. Atrocities in various forms happend on the tribals of Bangladesh. In March 1987 the Sunday magazine reports, "The former American National security adviser Zbigniew Brzenzski had described the CHT region as "the beginning of the area of instability of South-East Asia". To stop the genocide on Tribals Norway also drew attention of the UNO. On January 29, 1987 Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati submitted a list of 689 cases of genocide and atrocities as committed by the Bangladesh armed personals.
As a neighbouring State to Bangladesh Tripura suffered much by giving shelter to the Chakma refugees on humanitarian grounds. Most of the Chakmas of Bangladesh are near relatives to them. Their heridotarian relations with the Chakmas of Bangladesh shooked themselves greatly by seeing attrocities gave shelter them. They also helped to Bangladeshi Chakma in various ways and gave their moral support to win over the barbarism.
In the sharing of the political activities in Tripura it is remarkable to note that Sri Anil Chakma of Pecharthal contested in the General Assembly Election of Tripura in 1993 as a CPI (M) candidate and won in the election.

THE SOCIAL TRANSITION AND THE IMPACT OF MODERNISATION

The livelyhood of the Chakmas of Tripura were mainly based on Jhum Cultivation. Their social life was very simple. Their cultural spheres, thinkings, social laws, traditional systems - all centered round their Jhum farming and harvesting system. In the past Tripura possessed a vast deep forest land. There are many high and low hills in Tripura. The land was very fertile. Mainly the fertile forest land of Tripura attracted the Chakmas living in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong to come and settle in Tripura. They entered into Tripura and began to live happily on Jhum cultivation. The fertile forest land of Tripura yielded bumper seasonal crops th them. They got immense crops in lieu of minimum toil and care. For this reason their livelihood was care free and they could pass the whole yeat peacefully depending fully on yielded crops. It is remarkable to be noted here that the Chakmas of Tripura began to settle in the noarder areas specially at Kanchanpur, Chhamanu, Chhailengta, Gandachhara in the North District, Karbuk, Sabroom and Belonia in the South District. These settlements of the Chakmas were nearer to the boarder areas of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. So we find that the dwelling places of the Chakmas of Tripura were a far fro the dwelling places of he majority Tripuri, the ruling tribe of Tripura. For this consequences no deep relation did not develop between the Tripuris specially the Deb Barmas of Tripura. But it is a remarkable feature that a good

relation between the Reangs and the Chakmas developmed from the beginning. Originally the Reangs were also the inhabitants of Hill Tracts of Chittagong. It has been observed that the Reangs of Tripura are contemporary to the Chakmas of Tripura in respect of settlements in Tripura. For this reason a close and harmonious relation developed between the two tribes newly coming from the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. But in Amarpur Sub-Division the settlements of dwelling houses of the Chakmas and the Jamatias were built up together and consequently a harmonious relationship and brotherly feelings developed and grown up to some extent between the two tribes of Jamatias and the Chakmas. Yet on the whole the relation between the Tripuris, the biggest among the tribes of Tripura, and the Chakmas could not grow up deeply.

The Chakma settlements of dwelling houses were grown up alienating from other tribes of Tripura uninteruptedly. So the Chakmas passed their lives peacefully in Tripura maintaining their social customs and customary laws, pujas and festivals, rituals an other believes. They were guided by their own headman, Dewans, Talukdars, Karbaris etc. They gave tributes to the rulers of Tripura through their Dewans, Talukdars etc. The Dewans and Talukdars collected taxes from the Chakma subjects and after collection of taxes they sent the tributes to the kings of Tripura. So we find that the Chakma subjects had no direct relation with the rulers. The dewans and

the Talukdars kept relation with the rulers on behalf of their subordinated subjects.

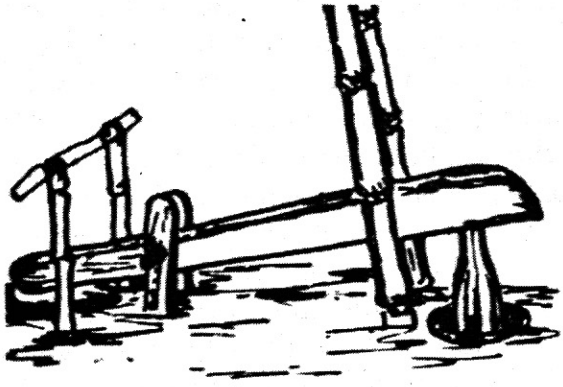
This system was changed in later periods. From the first decade of the twentieth century the kings of Tripura made a change the prior system of collecting of tribute through the Dewans and Talukdars to make an emphasis on collection of taxes. The king conferred the titles of Dewans and Talukdars to some chiefs of the Chakmas with a view to increasing the numbers of tax collecting agents. However, the relation to some extent extended between the rulers of Tripura and the Chakma people as a whole. The most renowned amongst the conferred title Dewan, an inhabitant of Pecharthol area. The king of Tripura honoured him by conferring him the title of Dewan Bahadur. Ledrai Dewan Bahadur was invited to the Royal Court to take a seat as a courtier every year at th yearly Royal celebration named PUNYAH. It is said that from thence the direct relation between the king of Tripura and the Chakmas of Triura happened to prevail.

In the monarchial rygime of Tripura there was no scope for spreading of education among the Chakmas. They began to continue their traditional learning amongst them. They had no modern system of education at all. But from the beginning of the twentieth century some educated people, to some extent, came to Tripura from the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They set up a very few schools in the Chakma

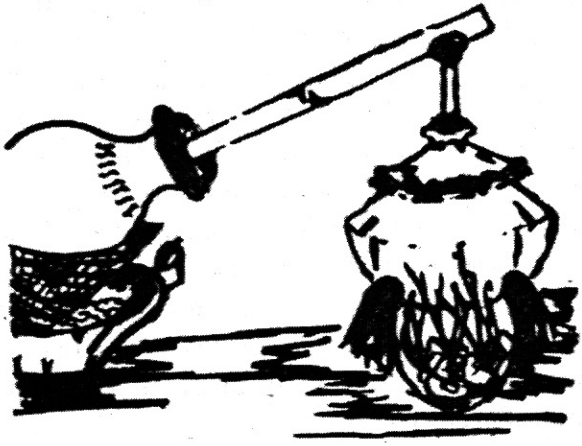
areas and the education amongst the Chakma people. It has been observed that no school was set up in the Chakma areas by the royal paatronage upto 1940. In the first half of 1941 a lower primary school was set up by the King of Triura at Pecharthol. At present time that school has been upgraded to the Higher Secondary School at Machhmara in the name of Ledrai Dewan Higher Secondary School. So it can be said that the Chakmas were deprived of education during the rygimes of the kings of Tripura. In the post independence period adequate schools were grown up in the Chakma populated areas of Tripura. It ahs been observed that since 1970 education rapidly spreaded out amongst the Chakmas. The percentage of Chakma literacy at present times is no less than any other tribal communities of Tripua.

The impact of modern education in the Chakma society is enormous. Their traditional customs, beliefs, way of life, manners, behaviours, thinkings etc. have rapidly changed. On the other hand the forest lands have became fewer. As a result their Jhum cultivation has become at a stake. They are compelled to give up their traditional farming system and began to live in the settled areas. It has been seen that since 1950 the Chakmas slowly began to accustomed to cultivate in the settled areas largely giving up their old Jhumia life. Now-a-days only less than twenty percent of Chakmas live on Jhum cultivation. The impact of modern education has totally changed their traditional life style. As its consequence their

traditional cultural aspects which grew basing on Jhum cultivation have become dwindled.



CHAKMA HUSKING INSTRUMENT



LIQUIRE DISTILLATION

Modern Chakma Couple

Modern Chakma Ladies

CONCLUSION

Conservativeness is a tribal feature. The Chakmas are no exception to this. We know that the Chakmas have been scrupulously following their age-old social customs and customary laws in every sphere of their life. But in a transitory world every thing has been rapidly changing. Dynamism is the life of a society. With the advancement of modern civilisation and to coup with the changing of Socioeconomical and political spheres the Chakmas have adapted aptly with the changing situations. Yet it is surprising to see that the Chakmas still retain their identity following their traditional cultural practices and speaking their own mother tongue. I would like to mention here some of my observations.

In their society inter marriage was prohibited. We know that they were reluctant to give marriage with the royal family of Tripura. It gives us full affirmation of their whole hearted strict adherence to their social customs and marriage system only. But this notion of conservativeness is not followed strictly now-a-days in a mixed and complex society. In modern times their matrimonial relations are being occurred with the Tripuris (DebBarma), Reangs, Garos, and the Bengalees also. Some of these marriages are affirmed by the Chakma society and some are rejected also. But marriages take place without carrying the opinions of the Chakma social leaders. In this way age-old conservativeness of the society is dete-

riorating day by day.

We have seen before that the spread of education in the Chakma society rapidly took place in the decades beginning from 1970 with the setting up of different schools in the dwelling places of the Chakmas in different parts of Tripura. Before 1970 the scope for learning education was rare in the Chakma dwelling places. Yet we find that the Chakmas have advanced immensely in the field of education and in comparison to other tribal societies of Tripura the percentage of Chakma literacy is higher. In respect of population their literal place is next to Mijo (Lusai) and Darlong tribes of Tripura. In the field of education the Chakma women have set an impressive example. The female education in the Chakma society have been rapidly advancing in comparison to other tribal women folks of Tripura. In some cases the Chakma women are more advanced in the field of higher education than the Chakma men-folk. It is undoubtedly a good sign of social progress of the Chakmas and it would bear a far reaching consequences in the society for advancement of society on the whole in the light of modernisation and economical self-sufficiency. Their attractions for obtaining higher education is extending day by day. Undoubtedly it bears a positive sign of living process of them. A large numbers of Chakma students have been prosecuting their studies staying at Shillong, Guahati, Calcutta and Delhi for technical and higher education. As a result their out-looks have been extending.

Being educated and having modern outlook a new concept for retaining their age-old cultural heridity has arisen in the minds of these educated people specially to the youths. In this context it is to be said that the Chakma educated women formerly used to wear SARI but in recent times it is noticed that they have been trying to retain their ethnic identity by wearing themselves in PINON, their traditional dress, and they use this dress in schools, colleges, offices and social functions.

Cultural spheres and religion are the best means to integrate a nation or a tribe. Religion is mainly a part of the traditional culture of a nation or a tribe. The Chakmas are Buddhists as a whole. No one Chakma belongs to any other religion. They claim themselves as the traditional Buddhists. But they are apart from bigotism. It is a remarkable feature of them. They regard religion fully in their mind. No atrocism for religon is found. Yet they did not incline to other religion. From ancient times they have been retaining their originality in respect of their religion for which we see that the impact of Christianity did not influence them. It is noticed that there is a trend of embracing Christianity by some tribal communities of Tripura overthrowing their former religion. But this trend is absent in the Chakma Society. It may be said that about fifty thousands Chakma live in Tripura and the followers to Christianity hardly may rise to ten in numbers from them. It is an instance for their likings to the traditional culture

and heritage. But the educated Chakmas have been expressing their unwillingness for retaining their traditional and age-old customary laws, marriage system and the system of judiciary. They are preferring modern customs and prevailing state laws, judiciary systems of the country. As its consequences their traditional social cultural institutions have been brokening repidly. On the other hand their attractions have been growing to democratic institutions and modern politics and they are actively participating to those. For this reason the social leaders are trying their utmost for formulating their social customs in a new form with the present needs and aspirations of the society.

Lastly it may be mentioned that the influences of modern education repidly spreaded among the Chakma society and as its consequences their some traditional beliefs and cultural features have been changing gradually. The scope of Jhum cultivation has become limited. As a result some of their cultural festivals and rituals have become to lose the previous importance and significance. Their pattern of daily life has also changed. Previously cotton was produced in their Jhum land and by this cotton they made threads with the help of CHARKA and CHARKI and weaved cloths by their loin looms. But now-a-days the situation has become totally changed with almost extinction of Jhum cultivation. They now purchase yarns from the market and weave their cloth. For this reason most of the young Chakmas

have not even seen these weaving instruments. These wearing tools have lost their importance in the society.

Most of the youths of this modern generation have not seen their traditional weaving tools too. And it is unavoidable also for the need of the age. Their traditional usages and rituals are rapidly changing and for this changed circumstances their social leaders and workers are expressing their sadness but they have nothing to do.

Chapter - IX

Appendix-I

Chakma Customary Laws of Chakma Autonomous District Council, Mizoram (An abstract) :

A BILL ON THE

CHAKMA CUSTOMARY LAW, ACT NO.1

1989

PART - I

GENERAL

Preamble : Whereas it is expendient to collect the unwritten customary law of the Chakma Community and other tribes of the Chakma Autonomous District Council to provide for regulation and administration of the same :-

Be it enacted in the eighteenth year of the Chakma Autonomous District Council as follows:-

1) Short title :- This shall be called "The Chakma Autonomous District Act" (Chakma Customary law"), 1989 hereinafter referred to as this act.

2) Commencement :- This will come into force with effect from the date of assenting to by the Governor of Mizoram..

3) Extent and Application :- This will extend to the whole of the Chakma Autonomous District and will apply to all residents of the said District.

Provided that the Governor may approve the application of the provisions of this act to the Mizoram Chakmas falling outside of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

Provided further that except where expressly provided in their social and customary practices or usages or law of the other tribes of the other tribes of the said District, this Act will apply mutatis mutendis to all such Tribes also.

4) Scope for amendment : Subject to approval of the Governor, the District Council of the Chakma Autonomous District may amend from time to time any of the provisions of any part of this hot by modification, addition or deletion.

5) Savings : (1) If any difficulty orises in regulating the rules or provisions of this Act, the matter shall be reffered to the Executive Committee of the Chakma Autonomous District Council for clarification or decision.

Provided that the said Executive Committee may refer any such matter to the Governor if deemed so necessary for clarification.

(2) If any question as to the interpretation of any

rule or provision of any part of this Act arises, the matter shall be referred to the Executive Committee and its decision shall be the final.

(3) If anything not contained anywhere in this Act occure in regard to any matter or subject relevant to the social and customary practices or usages of the Chakmas and other tribes of the District Act replaced, this will be disposed of by a court or a bench of village public (Eldor and leading group) or a Salishee Board to be constituted by the Executive Committee, in accordance with the social and customary practices of the concerned tribe prevailing and yet left unwritten.

(4) In the event of any provision of any part of this Act being repugnant to any provision of any rules or regulation or law made by the District Council or other authorities relating to any subject embodied in this Act, the provisions of this Act shall, unless revoked, prevail.

(5) All masculine terms appearing in these rules shall similarly mean the familine terms as well.

6. DEFINITIONS : (1) In this Act unless the context otherwise expressly requires,

(1) "Governor" means the Governor of Mizoram.

(2) "Chakma" means the Chakma Communites and includes the Tongehungya Community which is

sub-tribe or section of the Chakma Community.

(3) "Constitution" means the constitution of India.

(4) "Chief Executive Member" means the chief Executive Member of the District Council of the Chakma Autonomous District and the term "Executive Member" shall be construct accordingly.

(5) "District" means the Chakma Autonomous District Constitued under sub-paragraph (1) of the paragraph 4 read with sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule.

(6) "District Council" means the District Council of the Chakma Autonomous District i.e., the "District" as defined in (5) above.

(7) "Executive Committee" means the Executive Committee of the District Council as defined in (6) above.

(8) "Gazette" means the Mizoram Gazette.

(9) "Government" means the Government of Mizoram.

(10) "Murubbi" means the elder and leading group.

(11) "Samaj" means the Chakma Society.

(12) "Schedule" means the Sixth Schedule to the constitution of India.

(13) "Scheduled Tribe" means a tribe declared as such by the president of India and as amended from time to time.

(14) "Tongchungya" means the Tongchangya sub-tribe of the Chakma Community.

(15) "Offence" means a wrong in commission & Omission of an act in contravence of any rule or regulation and includes a morale offence effecting the norm of a social custom, but does not include a mistake committed in good faith or by accident.

(16) " Punishm ....." includes a corporal, or pecuniary, or mental or ..... or repulationary punishment.

(17) "Damage" includes is a physical or financial, or mental or renownary damage or reputationary damage.

(18) "Compensation" includes a cost, a solatium, a requital or anything payable in kind or cash to make good a damage or loss.

(19) "Cost" includes the cost or requital for a damage or loss caused in material or in morale and payable in cash or kind.

EXPLANATION :- (1) The expressions defined in this part shall also apply to any other part of this Act, and vice versa.

(2) Any expression not defined in sub-section (1) or in any part of this Act but occurring anywhere in any part of the Act shall be deemed to have the some meaning in which they are used in the constitution of India or the Indian penal code or the code of civil procedure 1998, or the code of criminal procedure 1898 as amended from time to time, or customarily or socially or linguistically by the Samaj as may be the case, in so far as they are consistent with the particular case or cases or matters.

PART -2

BIRTH RITES

7. Definition : (1) For the purpose of this part unless the context otherwise expressly requires.

I) "Bhatmoja" means a rich meal given to a woman after a child delivery in token of greeting and also to help her take nourishing food.

II) "Kojoipani" means a purifying performance by a woman after a child birth.

III) " Padu -Ojha" means a female village mid-wife.

(2) The provisions of section 6 shall apply to this part also.

8. A woman carrying a quick child shall not be engaged in hard physical labour or subjected to physical torture to such extent that is likely to cause

a miscarriage with no question whether or not miscarriage takes place.

9. A child delivery shall, except with the prior permission of the house holder, not take place in any others house other than that of the husband or guardians of the woman giving birth.

10. During the delivery of a child the neighbours are bound to render necessary assistance to the woman giving birth or to the house holder or family in respect of the delivery affairs.

11. After the delivery of a child the neighbours and close relatives should give "Bhatmoja" to the mother as a token of greeting and co-operative assistance or nourishing of the mother.

12. After each child delivery "Kojoipani" must be taken by the meter.

13. Before taking this "Kojoipani" the mother shall bot be allowed to visit any others dwelling house without the permission of the house holder.

14. During performance of the "Kojoipani" the "Padu-Ojha" shall be given a cock, one piece of new cloth and a cash not exceeding Rs. 100/-.

Provided that an additional cash equivalent to the price of these materials may be given in lieu of the materials.

Provided further that the Padu-Ojha" may exempt the woman from giving any of the aforesaid materials or the cash.

15. A woman after a child delivery shall not be engaged in heavy or hard physical or laborious works till she recovers per lost energy.

16. The compulsion of fetching earth by the husband of the woman giving birth to a child himself for making a Chula (fire palace) for use by the woman is repealed, and this may be done by anybody else.

17. Offence and penalties : Anybody who (1) Violates the rule & shall be punishable with (a) a fine which may extend from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 200/- where miscarriage does not take place. and (b) under section 312 I.P.C. when miscarriage takes place.

2. Violates the rule No. 9 shall be punishable with a fine ranging from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 25/- apart from payment of a compensation to the house holder concerned ranging from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/- to meet the expenditures required by him to perform a "BUR".

3. Violates the rule No. 15 shall be punishable with a fine from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-

4. Creates trouble during a delivery of a child or obstructs any other to rendering all to the delivering mother shall be punishable with a fine from Rs. 200/ - to Rs. 500/-.

PART 3

MARRIAGE

CHAPTER I GENERAL PROVISIONS

18. Definitions : (1) In the meaning of this part unless the context otherwise requires.

I. "Chumulong" or Chungulang means the formal and ritual performance of a marriage.

II. Chumulong/Chungulong Pani means a jarful of fresh water specially fetched by the bride for used in the chumulong.

III. "Surkagaj" means a written documents in support of a divorce to be given by the husband or by both.

IV. "Bhiron Posan' means maintenance.

V. "Buali" means the gift of ornaments or dresses etc given to the bride during marriage by the bride-grooms party to adorn her.

VI. "Garba' means an uneven relation i.e. not in the brother-sister line and includes one that can not be married.

VII. "Garba Kudum" means in brief a relation that can not be married and includes all such relations in the status of parents-of springs or uncle-neice rela-

tion i.e. the parent like or child like relations in all lines and generations and also a step brother or step sister, a jegot bjonjamai, Bhijur, Bhaibo of same Gotti though they are in even relation.

VIII. "Mukbola Kudum" means a so-called relation practically having no blood relation in any line but made such relation in course of association or living together.

IX. "Mukbola Garba Kudum" means a Gorba-Kudum out of the Mukbolakudum.

X. "Kholly Kudum" means a relation in oven line who can be married.

XI. "Gotti" means a sept or agnate i.e a person paternally related in predecession or succession.

XII. "Purus" or "polla" means a generation of the same Gotti.

XIII. "Sadanga" means a step or adopted relation.

XIV. "Biani" means the mother-in-law of a son or daughter or nephew or neice.

XV. "Bhuji" means the wife of an elder brother.

XVI. "Dwipur" means the second trip of negotiation of a marriage by the groom's party to the bride's party.

XVII. "Tinpur" means the third trip of the grooms party to the brides party in negotiation of a marriage.

XVIII. "Mod" means a wine and includes all types of alchoholic liquor like kanji, Jogora & all liquors foreinor country.

XIX. " Mod Pilang" means the offering mod in a pair of bamboo vessels or bottles by the grooms party to the bride party during the negotiation of a marriage as a taken of confirmation of the marriage.

XX. "Sangu-Duar Bondha Kora" literally means closing the door of the house, and here it means closing the door for negotiation of a marriage by other party.

XXI. "Dabah" means bride price payable by the grooms party in cash or kind.

XXII. "Bo-khojo" means the processions of fetching a bride at the eve of the marriage to be solomonsed in the grooms house.

XXIII. "Ojha" means a village priest who conduct a marriage in accordance with customary system.

XIV. "Thagur' means a Buddhist Monk.

XV. "Kyong" means a Buddhist Temple.

XVI. "Sudam" means system or rule.

XVII. "Jadan Jara" both means the system of tying the couple with a new cloth before the performance of the chumulang.

XXVIII. "Dyasud Bhanga" means the first visit immediately after marriage by the couple to the brides house, and vice-versa of the marriage takes place in the brides house.

XXIX. "Biju" means the Chakma social festival falling on the last day of the month of Chaitra (Bengali).

XXX. "BIOU BERAN" means the visit of the newly married couple to the brides parents or guardians during the Biju of the same year when the marriage took place.

XXXI. "FUR DARENG" means a fine woven bamboo busket with a lid usually used in carrying precious materials during Bokhaja.

XXXII. "KHUTTA POJA" MOILA PAK" Brange Funi". All means offering certain material by the groom during the Byesud Bhange to the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, grand mother uncle and grand father of the bride respectively.

XXXIII. "CHHEP" means taking an Ashirbada or blessing by the couple during the marriage.

XXXIV. "BUR" means a purifying performance.

XXXV. "BYE-DUR' means a purification performance after a marriage taking place by the new married couple.

XXXVI. "Gotti Bur' means a Bur by the family members alongwith, the new bride to engotti her.

XXXVII. "Khana Sironi' means a rich meel specially arranged to feed a group of elders after marriage as a token of approval of the samaj of the marriage.

XXXVIII. "Dusturi' means a payment in cash or in wine for crossing a village uproute by a bridal party.

XXXIX. "Kochari man' and Raja man mean an offer in cash or kind to the village head as a royal representative by the groom's on bride's parents or guardians for a marriage in the royal honour.

L. "Raja panbate' means an offering in the royal honour of some betel and nuts to the village head for a marriage.

LI. "Approved marriage' means a marriage formally performed and approved by the samaj.

LII. "Ghar Jamai" means a groom who undertaken his marriage in the service system in lieu of giving a Dabah by rendering free labour to the bride's parents for a certain period and move to the house of the bride.

LIII. "Carkonya' means a buoli good arranged temporarily for the purpose of adoring the bride during the marriage.

LIV. SIGOLI' means a cash realisation from the invites on the occasion of a marriage.

LV. "Concluding' means (a) a woman cohabiting with a men not her husband, and (b) an additional wife in presence of the previous one.

LVI. " LAJAUAN/LAJABHAR" means a compensation for the lowering the image of another person or for breach of contract.

(2) The provision of section 6 shall apply to this part also.

LVII. "CHAMANI" means a Shreman i.e Buddhist monk at the very begining stage of his such life.

19. A marriage must be formally performed with a "Chumulong" or "Chuaulong" and approved by the samaj.

20. A marriage shall be performed in concurrence with the parents or guardians of both the groom and the bride.

Provided that an approvable marriage may be performed without the consent of the parents or guardians of both or either of the groom the bride in which case the disgruntled guardians shall have the

right to abandon the relationship with such married couple.

21. No marriage with a relation except as provided in chapter -II of this part shall be allowed or approved.

22. The minimum age for marriage shall be 21 years for the male and 10 years for the female.

23. The practice of exercising own discretion by the parents or guardians in settling a marriage without the consent of the bride or the groom is repealed and the consent of both the bride and the groom shall be required in fixing up a marriage.

24. A permissible marriage can not be obstructed to by anybody except that the opposition, if any, to such a marriage shall be brought verbally or in writing before the guardians of the bride or the groom as may be the case, or to the village council having jurisdiction in writing, before the marriage is fixed up.

(2) The opposition if brought before the village council, shall be treated as a plaint or suit and dealt with accordingly.

(3) Such a genuine marriage shall not ordinarily be post poned except under rules, but when the village council is satisfied that here is reason to believe that a great disturbances or breach of peace & order out

of the dispute is likely to arise, the marriage may be poatponed

25. A concubine in the meaning of a female co-habiting with a male not her husband, shall not be deemed to be a wife of the said male concubines is prohibited.

26. Any marriage including a court marriage not fulfilling any of the provisions laid down in chapters I & II, or is contradicted to any rule prescribing as approvable marriage shall be void.

27. Continuation of husband and wife relation after the marriage is disapproved under rule 26 or dissolved under any other provision of this rule is prohibited.

28. A polyandry is not allowed, but a polygamy may be allowed on the following conditions only :-

(1) The number of living wives must not exceed two in any case.

(2) Prior consent of the living wife must be obtained without coercion for marrying another.

(3) The matter shall have to be reported to the village council before the marriage takes place for approval.

provided that if it is deemed to be liked to create a great dispute the village council may prohibit the

marriage.

(4) The ground of a polygamy will be :-

(a) Want of child.

(b) Physical or mental handicappedness of the existing wife.

29. In the event of a polygamy, as provided in the rule 28,

(1) The husband must take care of or look after both the wives equally in all respects, and if and when any injustice on or deprival of any right or facility by a wife is found on the part of the husband, the disgruntled, wife will have the right either to a "Surkagoj" or a separate ...haran ..... in a separate establishment at the cost of the husband, and

(2) The children born of both the wives shall enjoy the same facilities in regard to inheritance and others matters.

30. Receiving or offering a dowry is prohibited.

Provided that a Dabah may be received by the parents or guardians of the bride the total amount of which shall not exceed Rs. 1500/- in cash or kind or both. Provided further that there shall remain no compulsion in giving Dabah.

1. A "Dorkonya" may be given during the marriage

to adorn the bride but this shall not be taken away from the bride within a period not less than six months from the date of the marriage.

2. (1) All Duali materials except the ornaments, or the articles given to the bride by anybody as presentation or otherwise shall be the personal property of the bride and except with her prior consent nothing of these materials can be taken over or otherwise handled by anybody else during her life time.

Provided that in the recent of her leaving her husband at her own will or for no fault of the husband, the husband shall have the right over the then existing materials given to her as Unali.

(2) The Duali ornaments shall remain the joint property of the couple and the husband will acquire the full right over it in case of their separation in life time, and the wife shall be the owner of the same when the husband dies.

3. Realisation of Sigoli in a marriage is prohibited.

4. The provision of admissibility of marriage of a girl or woman with the person by or for whom she is abducted or forcefully kidnapped is repealed under rule 71(6) and under no circumstances the said girl or woman can be married to the said person even though she subsequently may agree to marry him.

5. A Child marriage is prohibited.

6. The marriage in way of a Gharjamel shall be regulated as under :- (1) The tenure of the stay and rendering service of the Gharjamei to his father-in-law or the guardians of the bride shall not exceed twelve months.

Provided that the Gharjamei may stay there longer than the term at his own accord.

(2) During the separation from the family of the wife after expiry of the tenure the couple shall be given a share of the earnings made by the said family during the period of servicing by the Gharjamei and also necessary assistance in construction a separate dwelling house of the couple shall be rendered by the father or guardians of the wife.

CHAPTER -II

RELATIONSHIP FOR APPROVAL MARRIAGE

37. A couple in brother-sister relation except these prohibited under rule 30 can get married each other.

38. A marriage with the following relation is strictly prohibited vie ;

(1) A Garbakudum.

Provided that a mukbola Garbakudum i.e. such a person having no blood relation in the paternal or maternal lines or who is not a closely related as Garbakudum in any line of matrimony or who is in

other way related as Khelly Kudum may be married.

(2) Member of own Gotti.

Provided that a Khellya kudum of own Gotti may be married only after seven purus or generations have elapsed.

(3) A Sadanga i.e. step relation or an adopted.

39. A Ranimila or a Ranamorod (Widow or a Widoor) can remarry.

40. A dovorced or otherwise senarated couple may get remarried together except in the case when the marriage was annuled by a competent court for reason of the marriage being bot approvable under any rule.

41. Also the following may be allowed :-

(1) A Marriage with a Byani.

(2) A Marriage by exchange.

CHAPTER -III

NEGOTIATION OF MARRIAGE

42. Unless during the very first visit of the groom's party the brides party sets aside the proposal and intimate its refusal the groom's party acquire the right to claim a "Sangudar Bhandhakera" i,e till this

proposal is finalished no other proposal for marriage of the same girl can be entertained.

43. The system of visiting by the groom's party for 3 times the bride's parents or guardians shall not be a compulsion, and the negotiation of a marriage may be finalised during the Owipur or even at the very first visit instead of running upto Tinpur.

44. Offering of a Mod pillang by the groom's party and acceptance of the same by the bride's party as a token of an agreement to the marriage, may be replaced by offering of an ornament or any other material suiting the occasion to the bride or to the parents or guardians, and this may be done during any visit as provided in rule 43.

45. Unless the negotiation of a marriage is finalised in positive i,e with a contract, the brides party shall not be deemed to have bound itself to the groom's party to marry the bride to the groom's party though invited for further visit for negotiation.

Provided that the bride's party shall intimate its final decission in negative or positive during the Tinpur at the latest.

46. If the proposal for the marriage is excepted by the bride's party the girl in question shall be considered as to have been afficianced or betrothed to the groom and unless the groom's party withdraws the efficiance or otherwise it is cancelled, the girl in

question can not be married to any other party.

47. After a marriage is finally fixed up, neither of the party can refuse the marriage with no fault of the other party.

48. The final settlement of the marriage in way of fixation of Dabah, Suali etc and the date of Bokhoja, may be made during the Tinpur, but there shall remain no restriction against settling a marriage at a single visit.

49. A written document in support of the agreement to a marriage noting therein the conditions may be made, but it is necessarily not required , and witness to the settlement or agreement to the marriage will be sufficient in this regard.

CHAPTER -IV

MARRIAGE PROCEDURES (SUDAM)

50. A marriage may be performed as follows :

(a) Generally the bride shall be fetched to the groom's house for performance of the marriage, or

(b) The ..... will go to the bride's house only the purpose of performing the marriage if so desired and settled by both the parties, and

(c) In Gharjamei system i.e rendering service by groom to the father or guardians of the bride for a

certain period instead of giving Dabah.

51. A marriage shall not be approved without a Chumulong or (Chugulong) to be conducted either by an oiha in the customary way, or by Thagur (Buddhist monk) in the Kyang or at home in the Buddhistic manner.

52. Before the Chumulong is performed, the Sudam of Jadan or Jora will be conducted in presence of some village elders as witness to the same.

53. (1) On the eve of conducting the Jadan, oral permission from the audience shall be required to tie the Jadan and without such permission the Jadan cannot be performed.

Provided that the audience shall not simply keep silent, but shall either give permission or raise objection to the Jadan.

(2) If anybody from the audience raises any objection to the Jadan instead of giving permission, he will have to account at once for his such objection satisfactorily, and if his objection is on the ground of the marriage not being approvable under any provision of these rules, he will have to prove it at once, on his failure of which he shall be subjected to punishment.

54. As soon as possible after the performance of the marriage, the Biased Bhanga shall be performed in the house of the bride's father or guardians if the

marriage takes place in the house of the groom, vice-versa in the event of the marriage being performed in the house of the bride father or in absence of the above opportunities or for other reason, under a tree having a green foliage.

Provided that this shall not compulsarily apply to the marriage of a widow or a girl who is evidently not a virgin.

55. The newly married couple shall visit the house of the bride's father or guardians during the first Biju succeeding their marriage to perform the Biju Beran, that is to say that the bride shall be given the opportunity to enjoy the said Biju at her father's or guardians home.

Provided that this is not necessary in the case of the widow marriage.

56. There shall be no restriction against performing a marriage on any day or any certain period except those restricted under the religion followed by the person concerned.

Provided that nobody shall be compelled to perform a marriage on a day or during a certain period which he believes to be inauspicious or restricted for the marriage.

APPENDIX - II

GLOSSARY

Agar-Tara - A voluminous scripture of the Chakmas written in their own traditional characters.

Alam - A design - catalogue made of a piece of cloth and used by the Chakma women in making loin-loom.

Ang - An artistic magic mark.

Anok - A land which located in the western freinge of the Arakan provience of Burma (Mayenamar). Literally, the word 'Anok' means a little west' in Arakanese dialect.

Anokkya - The dwellers of Anok region. The Chakmas are often being called 'Anokkya' by the Arakanese. As because, once the Chakmas were the inhabitant of Anok region.

BA - The twisted hard yarn.

Baidya - The traditional healer or exorcist.

Bala - Exchange of labour among neighbours.

Bein - The indigenous type of loin-loom used by Chakma female Weavers.

Bia - Bur - It's a sacred ritual of married couple which is performed at the residence of bride's parents after two or three days of marriage ceremony.

Bia-Sudhbhanga - A ceremonial courtesy visit by the newly weds to the bride, parents residence.

Baitra - A guardian deity.

Bijok - A traditional chronicle.

Bikrampudi - Ma - The benevolent goddess of weaving and art.

Bizu-jatra- The national festival of the Chakmas. It's being observed for the last two days of Chaitra

and first-day of Vaisak of Bengali Celender year.

Bizu-Nach - A most colourful dance performed by the youths during the Bizu festival.

Buno-Kada - The art of weaving.

Chabugi - An illustrated and designful rim of 'Pinon' (a breech cloth of Chakma women).

Chahna - The front space of a Chakma house which is generally used as the sitting place or drawing-room for the guests.

Changma - The Chakmas.

Chege - The Minister.

Cherag - A Common earthen lamp.

Chibor - A saffron coloured robe used by the Buddhist monk.

Chumulong- A guardian deity of the Chakmas workshiped during the marriage ceremony.

Chumulong - Pujo- The woshiping of Chumulong deity or the marriage ceremony.

Dainnak - A branch of Chakma people who are the dwellers of Arakan Province. Literally, the word 'Dainnak' infer to the meaning of 'Shield-bearer worrier' in Arakanese dialect.

Dali - To sacrify a beast or bird for propitiation of god or goddess.

Debongsi - The uraniam, god-like or something supernatural.

Dewan - Originally an indigenous administrator or official of the royal court of Chakma Chieftain system who, under the British, became a class leading the Goza (group of people consisting deferent class).

Dhaleshwari-Ma - The goddess of learning.

Dharmakam - A religious rite or function performed by any individual or a group of people in prescribed manner.

Dhinge - A husking - lever.

Dhudeek - A type of struck-rod musical instrument made of a bamboo tube.

Dhul - A big drum used as a musical instrument. It's used also in the funeral procession and other religious occassion.

Dhulon - A craddle made of cane and bamboo slits.

Edhi - A typical trap for hunting wild beasts and birds.

Fang - An invocation of god by arranging a ritualistic function.

Firi - The generations.

Ful - Flower. A colourful design or motive of Chakma weaving craft.

Fu-bareng - An artistically hand-woven busket with a lid. It's used for keeping the valuable utensils of a household.

Ful-Bizu - The first-day of Bizu festival. This day is meant for collecting flowers (ful) from the jungle for decoration of houses on occassion of Bizu festival.

Gab-dena - An indigenous dyeing system of threads.

Garba-Kudum - A term of social instruction by which strictly forbidden in making merimonial relation.

Gareng - A Shanty in a jhum land.

Gengkhuli - A traditional ballad-singer.

Ghochya - Sesamum.

Gochya-Pochya-Bizu-The last day of three days Bizu festival. It falls on the first-day of Vaisak of Bengali Celender year.

Gojen - The Creator as described in Chakma Cosmological story.

Goza - A major group of Chakma people consisting itself several class headed by particular Dewan or Talukdar.

Gutthi - The Clan.

Gutthi-Bhat - A rituals of offering boiled rice or 'Pinda' to the departed souls of ancestors.

Harak - The Chakma alphabets.

Hengarong - An audiophonic musical instrument made of a small bamboo split.

Hinajan - Hinayana. Literally, the "lesser vehicle", one of the major schools of Buddhism, the other being the Mahayana or "greater vehicle".

Humo - The taboos.

Jadan - System of tieing the couple with a new cloth before the performance of the chumulong ceremony.

Jawl-tongi - A bachelor dormitory.

Jhum - A shifting or slash and burn cultivation.

Jog-Kalam - An old scripture of the Chakmas which dealt with the Yoga (meditation) and tantraism.

Kagoi - A well-decorated comb made of bamboo, wood, horn or bone of the wild beast.

Karaga - A lay-man who serves the monks in the Buddhist temple.

Karbari - A village headman.

Karmopada - The leaf of indigo plant which is used

for indigo colour in Chakma traditional dyeing system.

Keeh-piji - Coix, Job's tears.

Khadi - A breast covering cloth which is woven in loinloom in the most colourful and illustrated pattern.

Khana-sironi - A rich meal specially arranged to feed to group of elders in a marriage as a token of approval of the society.

Khara - The indigenous folk-game.

Khawang - A white coloured head turban of the female.

Khisa - A high ranking official of the Chakma royal court.

Koiyang alu - A jungle turberous root.

Kogoi - The Kuki Tribe.

Kyong - A Buddhist monastery or temple.

Kyong-thaga - The benevolent patron or caretaker of a Buddhist temple.

Laboy - Swajan - Marriage is not approved in between the relation of the brother of the husband of the elder sister and the daughter of the husband of the younger sister.

Lajabhar - An indemnity for rejection of final proposal of marriage conciliation.

Lorbua - Midungi - Pala - A most famous Chakma traditional ballad.

Lori - A trantric Buddhist priest who is treated as deteriorated from their earliest faith of Hinayani schools of Buddhism.

Lothak - The assistant of the Lori Priest.

Lui - A fishing - trap made of of bamboo and cane.

Malem-Tara - A part of the Agartara which dealt with the paraphernalia of dead rituals.

Maleya - It is a term of collective works of the neighbours by which they help in jhuming or other works to any disable family.

Mela - A marriage ceremony or a village fair.

Mejbau - A grand feast.

Mon-Ghar - A small and temporary house that built at Jhum land. Literary, a hilly cottage.

Najar Talab - Submission of a fixed amount of rupees to the village judicial court for demanding against anybody's offence.

Nang - The name.

Nadeng-Khara - A typical folk-game that played by the wooden toy or spindle.

Nuobhat - The harvest-feast.

Ojha - A village priest who conduct the marriage ceremony and other ritualistic performances in accordance with traditional system.

Oli - Lullabies.

Pajan ton - A mixed curry that specially prepared during the Bizu festival.

Pala - Ballad.

Pallan - The hunter. A special messanger who engaged by the village headman for circulation of any summon to the villagers.

Parkullya - The man who resides accross the boarder.

Parong - Migration or shifting.

Peikh-Khara - An indigenous folk-game.

Porchoni - A person who serves up the meal to the guest during any feast.

Rana - Widower.

Rani - Widow.

Rannya - An abandoned jhum land in which the main crops are harvested.

Reng - A Chorus shouting of rejoicing played by the audience in accordance with the prominent tune of the songs of ballad singer.

Rengya - The Riang tribe.

Rong Gach - An indigenous jungle plant which is used in dyeing process for procuring red colour.

Radha-ghar - A typical scaff-fold made of wood and bamboo used for carrying away the dead body to the cremation ground.

Savala - The helper of wedding couple in performing the marriage rituals during the marriage ceremony.

Salikkya - A special messanger who carrys the message of the latest marriage concilation from one side to another just befor the day of marriage performance.

Shilum - The shirt.

Silon - Oyster.

Siong - The offering of meal to the Buddhist monk.

Tabil - An amulet having a power of occult power.

Tagal - A concave or straight bladed big knife with a wooden haft used for cutting anything.

Thagur - A Buddhist Monk.

Tak - A typical musical instrument made of a bamboo tube.

Uvogeet - The folk-song.

Ved-Kalam - An old scripture dealt with Tantraism.

Zu - Weaving method of loin-loom or cane and bamboo work.

Zung - A big earthen jar or pitcher.

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